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TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES IN CANADA.

Parts I. and II.

This edition of Travels and Adventures in Canada is limited to Seven Hundred copies.

No. 493

Alexander Henry

Travels & Adventures

In Canada and the Indian Territories

Between the Years 1760 and 1776

By

ALEXANDER HENRY
Fur Trader

New Edition, Edited with Notes, Illustrative and Biographical, by

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

ALEXANDER HENRY was born in New Jersey in August, 1739. His parents were reputable people in the middle rank of life, who are said to have come from the West of England, and to have been connected with Matthew Henry, the Biblical commentator. Of his early days nothing is known, but it is evident from his book and from the position he assumed in official and commercial circles that he received a good English education. When we first make his acquaintance he was in his twenty-first year, and had joined Amherst's army, not as a soldier, but in a "premature attempt to share in the fur trade of Canada, directly on the conquest of the country." Wolfe's victory at Quebec in the previous year had awakened the English traders to the opportunity presented, of taking over the fur trade which the French had opened up, and Amherst's large army was watched with great interest as it swept away the last remnant of French control. The "Travels and Adventures" which followed "occupy a period of sixteen years, commencing nearly with the author's setting out in life." It is improbable that his first acquaintance with the character and requirements of this particular trade was to be made on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and we may safely assume that he had had some previous knowledge of it in one of the trading establishments at Albany or New York.

In Boston, in 1766, a book of 160 pages was published, entitled "*Account of the Captivity of William Henry in 1755, and of his residence among the Senneka Indians six years and seven months, till he made his escape from them,*" which may be an explanation of his introduction to the fur trade. Of this book no copy seems to be known. It cannot be traced in the catalogues of any of the great American or English libraries, and is not to be found in the bibliographies of Sabine, Rich, Field or Pilling. Of William Henry we only know that he was a trader with the Ohio Indians, and was made prisoner by the Senecas, and in the absence of his book have no means of tracing him, but the name is not a common one. At the time of William's captivity, Alexander was sixteen years old. It is not improbable that the first named was a near relative, perhaps uncle, and that Alexander had been by him introduced to the trade while very young, and that finding William did not return after four years absence, had ventured what goods he possessed in an expedition on his own account. The case is strengthened, also, by the fact that Henry's eldest son, born long after in Montreal, was named William, and that about 1787 a nephew named Alexander Henry, Jr., joined him there, who afterward became himself a noteworthy North-Wester, and whose journals have recently been most copiously edited by the late Elliott Coues. But whatever had been his connection with trading, previous to his setting out, it is quite evident that he had not spent much time among the Indians from his own statement that "a bark canoe was a vehicle to which I was altogether a stranger" as well

as to the snow-shoes, "an article of equipment which I never used before." In the London *Chronicle* of June 23rd and 25th, 1768, are given two extracts from William Henry's book which exhibit a similar interest in the mental and social condition of the Indians to that which characterizes Alexander Henry's writings, and as they are apparently the only portions now extant, they are worth reprinting.

"This writer, who is an Englishman, gives a plain short account of his education in human learning at an academy in Northampton; his settlement in America, as a trader with the Ohio Indians; his being surprised and made a prisoner at the breaking out of the late war; his spiritual change or conversion during his sickness and other afflictions, and then among a multitude of other particulars relating to the Indians, says:

"I had always a facility in learning languages and the pains I took *after my adoption to acquire theirs, with the proficiency I soon made in it, ingratiated me a good deal with the Indians, so that in this third year I found myself much respected. Old Canassatego, a warrior, counsellor, and the chief man of our village, used to come frequently to smoke and talk with me, while I worked at my new † business, and many of the younger men would come and sit with him, pleased to hear our conversations. As he soon saw I was curious on that head he took a good deal of pains to instruct me in the principles of their eloquence, an art (it may seem strange to say it but it is strictly true) carried much higher among these savages than it is now in any part of Europe, as it is their only polite art, as they practice it from their infancy, as everything of consequence is transacted in

* All their prisoners that are not burnt are adopted and incorporated with some family, and, of course, with the nation.

† Mending of gun locks.

councils, and all the force of their government consists in persuasion. He would also often enquire of me concerning our wars, history, customs, arts, etc., and sometimes about our religious opinions. I then regretted that I had so unhappily refused the advantage once in my power of acquiring a store of divine knowledge under the pious instructions of Dr. Doddridge, which my friends of all things wished, intending me for the ministry, but my mind was extremely averse to it, and I had abruptly left him against their advice, which obstinacy of mine was the beginning of my misfortunes. But enough of that." The writer then goes on to relate sundry conversations he had at different times with the Indians on religious subjects occasioned by his acquainting them with parts of our scripture history. These we pass over, as containing little entertainment or information except the following, by which we may learn how imperfect the Indian ideas are of God, what partial notions they have of the creation, and how widely different from ours their opinions are of those regulations of commerce by which one nation proposes to make advantage to itself in distressing the trade of others. The Europeans think such regulations wise and good; the Indian it seems, the highest folly and wickedness.

"While I was musing in what manner best to explain this matter to his understanding, Konnedohaga, the young warrior, took up the discourse, and said: 'You tell us that the great Manitta made all these things in the first six days. I find we know some things that you do not know. Your book does not tell you everything. At least if your Manitta made all the things of your country in the first six days it was not so in this Indian country, for some things were not made till many generations after, and they were made by our Manitta's daughter. I will tell you, says he, how it happened, as I learned it when I last hunted among the Oneidas. Nine Oneida warriors passing near a certain hill not far from the head of the

Sasquehanah* saw a most beautiful young woman descend naked from the clouds, and seat herself on the ground upon that hill. Then they said, this is the great Manitta's daughter; let us go to her, welcome her into our country and present her some of our venison. They gave her a fawn's tongue broiled, which she eat, and, thanking them, said: 'Come to this place again after twelve moons and you will find where I now sit some things you have never yet seen, and that will do you good.' So saying she put her hands on the ground, arose, went up into the clouds and left them. They came accordingly after twelve moons and found growing, where she had pressed the ground with her right hand, corn,† where with her left hand beans‡ and where her back parts had pressed it, there grew tobacco.' At this origin of tobacco all the young Indians laughed, but old Canassatego, reproving them, and the teller of the story said, 'You are a young man or you would not have told before this white man such a story. It is a foolish Oneida tale. If you tell him such tales what can you expect but to make him laugh at our Indian stories as much as you sometimes do at his? Hearken to me, I will tell you and him all the true story of the beginning of this country and the making of all things in it, such as I long since learnt it from my mother, who had it from her mother, and so on backwards for a hundred generations.' ||

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* A river of that name.

† That is Indian corn or maize.

‡ What we call French or kidney beans, corn, beans and tobacco are the three principle articles of Indian agriculture.

|| The Indians having no letters their women are the repositaries of history, and are present for that purpose in all public councils and at all treaties. It is their business to remember and to transmit public facts and traditions by relating them often to their children.

"When we sat silent a few minutes he said: 'White man, hearken to me; hear me Coseagon!* You say there is but one great good Manitta. You know of no more. If there were but one, how unhappy must he be without friends, without companions, and without that equality in conversation by which pleasure is mutually given and received. I tell you there are more than a hundred† of them; they live in the sun and in the moon; they love one another as brethren; they visit and converse with each other, and they sometimes visit though they do not often converse with us. Every country has its great good Manitta who first peopled that country. I am now going to tell you how my country was made and peopled.

"Then raising his voice and entering into the council style and manner of speaking and with that modulation, which I may call the quoting tone, being what they use when repeating messages, treaties or anything that has been said by others in former times, distant places, or preceding councils; a tone so particular, that if you come into a council in the middle of a speech you can tell whether the person speaking is delivering his own sentiments or reciting those of another, this tone having the same effect in their speeches and answering nearly the same end, with our marginal inverted commas in writing, to distinguish borrowed passages quoted as authorities; only that the Indians have three differences in the quoting tone, none of which we have in writing, viz., the approving accent, the disapproving accent, and the uncertain or doubting, and that there is something measured or musical in all these tones. I say, Canassatego, in the quoting or historical tone with the approving accent and with an air of great authority and

* The Indian name given to the author at his adoption.

† They commonly use a hundred to express any great, unknown or intermediate number.

dignity, went on with his account of the manner in which his country was made and peopled.

"'When our good Manitta raised Akanishionegy* out of the great waters he said to his brethren, "How fine a country is this! I will make the red men† the best of men to enjoy it." Then with five handfuls of red seeds like the eggs of flies, did he strow the fertile fields of Onondaga. Little worms came out of the seeds and penetrated the earth, where the spirits who had never yet seen the light entered into and united with them. Manitta watered the earth with his rain; the sun warmed it; the worms with the spirits in them grew, putting forth little arms and legs and moved the light earth that covered them. After nine moons they came forth perfect boys and girls. Manitta covered them with his mantle of warm purple cloud and nourished them with milk from his finger ends. Nine summers did he nurse them, and nine summers more did he instruct them how to live. In the meantime he had made for their use trees, plants and animals of various kinds. Akanishionegy was covered with woods and filled with creatures. Then he assembled his children together and said, "Ye are five nations, for ye sprang each from a different handful of the seed I sowed; but ye are all brethren, and I am your father, for I made ye all; I have nursed and brought you up:—Mohocks, I have made you bold and valiant, and see I give you corn for your food. Oneidas, I have made you patient of pain and of hunger; the nuts and fruits of the trees are yours. Sennekers, I have made you industrious and active; beans do I give you for nourishment. Cayugas, I have made you strong, friendly and gener-

* The country of the Five Nations.

† They thus distinguish from white men and black men. But their complexion is not properly red; it is rather the colour of copper or mohogany.

ous; ground nuts and every root shall refresh you. Onondagoes, I have made you wise, just and eloquent; squashes and grapes have I given you to eat and tobacco to smoke in the council. The beasts, birds and fishes I have given to you all in common. As I have loved and taken care of you all so do you love and take care of one another. Communicate freely to each other the good things I have given you, and learn to imitate each others virtues. I have made you the best people in the world, and I give you the best country. You will defend it from the invasion of other nations, from the children of other Manittas, and keep possession of it for yourselves while the sun and moon give light and the waters run in the rivers. This you shall do if you observe my words. Spirits, I am now about to leave you. The bodies I have given you will in time grow old and wear out, so that you will be weary of them, or from various accidents they will become unfit for your habitation and you will leave them. I cannot remain here always to give you new ones.

"I have great affairs to mind in distant places, and I cannot again attend so long to the nursing of children. I have enabled you, therefore, among yourselves to produce new bodies; to supply the place of old ones, that every one of you when he parts with his old habitation may in due time find a new one and never wander longer than he choses under the earth, deprived of the light of the sun.*

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* They believe spirits ramble about under the earth in a country where there is only a kind of twilight. That in that country there are also the spirits of birds, beasts and fishes, and even of trees and plants. That all these spirits, a spirit can see and handle without hands, but if he comes again above ground he finds he cannot see the sun or move even a grain of sand without eyes and hands, and, therefore, he seizes the first opportunity of getting a new body by entering and possessing

"Nourish and instruct your children as I have nourished and instructed you. Be just to all men and kind to strangers that come among you. So shall you be happy and beloved by all, and I myself will sometimes visit and assist you." Saying this he wrapped himself in a bright cloud and went like a swift arrow to the sun, where his brethren rejoiced at his return. From thence he often looked at Akanishionegy; and, pointing, showed with pleasure to his brothers the country he had formed and the nations he had produced to inhabit it.

"Here the five nations lived long and happily, communicating freely to each other as their wants required, all the good things that had been given them, and generations had succeeded generations when the great evil Manitta came among them and put evil thoughts into their hearts. Then the Mohocks said: 'We abound in corn which our brothers have not; let us oblige them to give us a great deal of fruits, beans, roots, squashes and tobacco for a very little corn, so shall we live in idleness and plenty while they labour and live hardly.' And in the same manner spoke the other nations. Hence arose discord, animosity and hatred, insomuch that they were on the point of lifting the hatchet against each other and miring the ground with brother's blood. Their Father saw this from the sun, and was angry with his children. A thick blue and red cloud covered all the land, and he spoke to them in thunder. 'Wretches,'

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an embrio just forming in its mother's womb, from which moment he forgets everything but love to his country. The returning spirits of birds, beasts and fishes, they say, do not forget anything; the birds retain the memory of the way of walking, flying, copulating, and building of nests; the beasts, of walking, coupling, swimming, etc., and the fish of swimming and other actions which the great spirit first taught them, and, therefore, need no fresh teaching in those particulars.

said he, 'did I not freely give to each of you different kinds of good things, and those in plenty, that each might have something in his power to contribute to his brother's happiness, and so increase the happiness and strengthen the union of the whole; and do you now abuse those gifts to oppress each other; and would one brother, to make himself in imagination, more happy, make four brethren in reality more miserable! Ye have become unworthy of the goodness I have shown you, and shall no longer enjoy my favours. Then the sun of Akanishionegy gave forth darkness instead of light, so that the day was darker than the night, the rivers ran backwards to the mountains, and, with all their fish, re-entered the fountains from whence they sprung, forsaking their ancient beds and leaving dry the banks they used to water.

"The clouds withheld their rain, and carried it away to other regions. The surface of the earth became dust; whirlwinds filled the air with it, and every breathing creature was almost stifled; every green thing withered; the birds flew away; the beasts ran out of the country, and, last of all, the afflicted people famished nearly to death, their dry eyes not having even a tear left, departed sorrowing, and were scattered among the neighbouring nations, begging everywhere for food from those who despised them for their late wickedness to one another.

"Nine summers passed away, and their distress continued. Then the evil spirit left them, for they no longer listened to his counsels; they began mutually to feel and to pity one another's misfortunes; they began to love and to help each other. The nations among whom they were scattered now began to esteem them, and offered to adopt and incorporate them among themselves. But they said: 'No; we are still a people, we chose to continue a people; perhaps our great Manitta will restore us to our country and we will then remember this your offered kindness.' The great Manitta seeing their hearts changed looked

on them with compassion. He spoke and the sun again gave light; the rivers came again forth from the fountains, and ran rejoicing through the delighted valleys; the clouds again showered on the thirsty earth; the trees and plants renewed their verdure; the birds and beasts returned to the forests, and the five nations, with glad and thankful hearts, went back to repossess their ancient seats. From that time down to the present day it has been an inviolable rule and custom among the nations, that every brother is welcome to what a brother can spare of the good things which the spirit has caused to spring for him out of the earth."

"All the Indians applauded Canassatego, and said they had heard that good story often, but never before so well repeated. Indeed, however absurd and false in its facts, it was admirably expressed and delivered. In my account of it I have been obliged to drop many of the figures, which, being unusual to us, would require long explanations, and I must own I think it scarce possible in our language (I am sure it is impossible for me) to do Indian eloquence justice. Canassatego then made some remarks himself on the story, and told us that the English and French, though they called the Indians brothers, had long practiced the same wickedness towards them, making everything dear that they exchanged with them, and even the things they the English and French exchanged with one another. Corlaer,* says he, first makes Onontio† pay dearer‡ for strouds and blankets; then Onontio makes Corlaer pay as much dearer for beaver; what, at best, can either of them get by this but his own inconvenience and the other's ill-will? But this is not all. It is for these causes that the

* So they call the Governor or Government of New York.

† Common name of the Government of Canada.

‡ Alluding to duties laid on these commodities.

great spirit of the white people is now angry with them, and has left them to lift the hatchet, brother against brother, to destroy their own habitations and bring misery on both their countries.

"I could not let all this pass without modestly remarking that his account of the beginning of things was subject to great uncertainty as being trusted to memory only, from woman to woman through so many generations, and might have been greatly altered, whereas the account I gave them was written down by direction of the Great Spirit himself and preserved carefully in a book which was never altered, but had ever remained the same and was undoubtedly the truth. 'Coseagon,' says Canassatego, 'you are yet almost as rude as when you first came among us. When young it seems you were not well taught; you did not learn the civil behaviour of men. We excused you; it was the fault of your instructors. But why have you not more improved since you have long had the opportunity from our example?* You see I always believed your stories,† why do you not believe mine?' Alaguippy and the other Indians kindly made some apology for me, saying I should be wiser in time, and they concluded with an observation which they thought very polite and respectful towards me, that my stories might be best for the white people, but Indian stories were undoubtedly best for Indians.

"Now, it is well known that some who have before me been among these Indians, have reported highly of their stories, as if there were something super-excellent in them. I have, therefore, given this story of

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* They think themselves the politest people in the world, as well as the wisest and bravest.

† That is I never contradict them. Contradiction, or a direct denial of the truth of what another says, is among the Indians deemed extremely rude. Great superiority, as of a father to a child, or of an old counsellor to some boy, only can excuse it.

theirs at full length, translated as well as I am able, and I can faithfully assure my readers it is one of their very best, by which may be seen the miserable darkness these poor creatures labour under, and how far inferior their best instructions do appear when compared with the unerring oracles that we possess and the histories contained in them."

Alexander Henry's adventures commence with his descent of the St. Lawrence and his first experience of war with the conquest of Fort Levis in September, 1760. In attempting to run the Cedar Rapids his boats were upset and all his goods lost, he escaped with difficulty himself. With the capitulation of Montreal, he saw that the opportunity of trading was come, and, hurrying back to Albany, "where my commercial connections were," secured a fresh supply of goods. Winter overtook him at Fort Levis, and he spent the season there disposing of his goods to the garrison. His adventures on the journey between Fort Levis and Montreal are such as we might expect from the first experience of a young man among the stray Indians demoralized by the war movement of the time. It was, however, when thus harassed and almost despairing of his life from the threats of the Indians and the inclemency of the weather, that his feet were directed to the house of a friendly Frenchman, who had ventured into the Indian hunting grounds in the North-West, and who captivated him with his stories of the fabulous wealth in furs to be obtained there. As soon as it was possible after his arrival in Montreal, he persuaded General Gage to give him permission to set out on a fur-trading expedition, and after a hurried trip to Albany for fresh supplies he started upon his journey, little thinking

that it would be nearly fifteen years before he would again see Montreal.

Under the French *régime* furs had been the principal object of commerce. The trade, at first confined to the neighbourhood of the St. Lawrence and the lower great lakes was extended by the enterprise of the fur-traders, who carried on their operations in spite of the government, to Michilimackinac and Lake Superior. The failure of the great French companies, principally through mismanagement, left the path open to those whom Masson calls the "Coureurs des Bois, those heroes of the prairie and the forest, regular mixture of good and evil, who for long furnished the heroes to the modern romances, extravagant by nature, at the same time grave and gay, cruel and compassionate, as credulous as superstitious, and always irreligious." Two of these, Radisson and Groseilliers, had in the seventeenth century been driven into the hands of the English, and were instrumental in establishing the Hudson's Bay Company. The French Government were forced to adopt the system of licensing, and authorized the establishment of fortified trading posts, which were placed under officials charged with the oversight of large districts. Prominent among these was Michilimackinac, which had grown into importance as a convenient meeting place for the natives of the lands bordered on Lake Huron, Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. From this place, in 1731, the most adventurous of all the traders, M. La Vérendrye and his sons, set out, and in the interval between this date and 1748, had established a series of posts extending from the Grand Portage to the Forks of the Saskatchewan. There were Fort St. Peter on

Rainy Lake, Fort St. Charles on the Lake of the Woods, Fort Maurepas at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, Fort Dauphin on the north-west, and Fort La Reine on the south side of Lake Manitoba, Fort Rouge at the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, Fort Bourbon on Cedar Lake, Fort Poskoyac on the Saskatchewan, and Fort La Corne at the junction of the north and south branches of the same river. It only remained for M. de Niverville to plant Fort La Jonquière at the foot of the Rocky Mountains to complete their march westward, before the whole country passed under the dominion of England. The conquest of Canada altered the whole character of the trade. Until the country had settled down after the war few licenses were issued, but soon the trade was made free from all government interference. Alexander Henry was among the first to obtain permission, and, as soon as the weather permitted, started for Michilimackinac, travelling by the regular route of the Ottawa River and Lake Huron. Passing across this lake he found that the Indians had not yet recognized the change of government, and that it was necessary for him to disguise himself as a Frenchman. Michilimackinac had been supplied with a small force of English soldiers from Detroit, and was, with the exception of the small post on Green Bay, the most westerly fortified position in the British Dominion. This story, told by Henry, of his adventures in this place and of his escape from the massacre has been frequently repeated. Parkman, who depends on Henry for this portion of his "Conspiracy of Pontiac," says: "The authenticity of this very interesting book has never been questioned. Henry was living at

Montreal as late as the year 1809. In 1797 he, with others, claimed, in virtue of Indian grants, large tracts of land west of the River Cuyahoga, in the present State of Ohio. A letter from him is extant, dated in April of that year, in which he offers this land to the Connecticut Land Company at one-sixth of a dollar an acre." To a Frenchman he was again indebted for a new introduction to the fur trade, and, in partnership with M. Cadotte, he extended his enterprise to the shores of Lake Superior. The mining fever which diverted his attention lasted only a short time, when he returned to trading, and joined the band of quarrelsome traders who had already made the Grand Portage the principal station in the North-West. From Michilimackinac the furs had passed into the hands of the English traders at Albany, advantage being taken of the ships sailing to Niagara, but the leading spirits at the Grand Portage were Canadians, and their furs reached Montreal by the Ottawa River. The English of New York were hampered by lack of skilled labour, but the Canadian traders found ready to their hand the French Canadians, the best canoe and bush men in the world. Breaking off from the motley crowd at the Grand Portage, Thomas Curry was the first Canadian to penetrate to the Saskatchewan and his success prompted James Finlay to follow. The Frobishers and Henry set out in the following year, going further north than either of their predecessors. Here they came in contact with the Hudson's Bay Company, who were nettled at what they conceived was an invasion of their rights, and by the determined manner in which these free-traders settled down upon the regular routes of travel to their forts

and secured from the Indians the furs they were taking to the agents of the company. The necessity for combination among these men to enable them to cope with the great company was the preliminary step to a more formal union, which ultimately became the great rival of the Hudson's Bay Company, and was known as the North-West Company.

Henry's narrative concludes with the account of his visit to the Assiniboines on the great prairie, of the success of their expedition to the Churchill River, and of their return to Montreal in 1776.

From this date we lose the benefit of the author's guidance, but in the *Canadian Magazine* for April and May, 1824, we have a short biography, written by a friend, and published during the month in which he died.

"A character such as Mr. Henry could not long remain in obscurity; his arrival in Montreal, after an absence during which he suffered so much and encountered so many difficulties, soon made him an object of public notoriety, and introduced him personally to the first circles in the society at the time. Having signified his intention of visiting England, he found many friends ready to furnish him with introductory letters, and of whose offers he in some cases availed himself. In his visit to Europe it was his design to make a tour to France, and among others, he was furnished by M. St. Luc la Corne, then in this country, with letters to his brother, the celebrated Abbé La Corne, in France. With these documents, he sailed for England in the first instance, in the year 1776; from thence he afterwards went to France, where he met a most flattering reception from the Abbé, and being by his influence introduced to court, was received with such marks of condescen-

sion as made an impression upon his mind which was never eradicated. In particular, the remembrance of the attention which he received from the unfortunate Marie Antoinette was fresh in his memory, and mentioned by him only a very few days before his death.

"It ought to be mentioned, as a just tribute to Mr. Henry's talents for attentive and correct observation, that previously to his departure for England, he presented Lord Dorchester, then Governor of Canada, with a chart of such parts of the Indian territory as he had travelled through; and the accuracy of this chart has been since confirmed in almost every particular, by the future surveys of that country which have since been made.

"But neither the kind feelings evinced towards Mr. Henry on his arrival in England, nor the hospitable reception he met with from many respectable characters to whom he carried letters, could induce him to remain there. A life of inactive pleasure, or even of tranquil enjoyment, was not suitable to a mind formed as his was. He returned to Canada in the spring of 1777, and after revisiting the Indian country, he made a second voyage across the Atlantic in the fall of the same year. The third and last visit he paid to Great Britain was in the year 1780, from whence he returned to Montreal in 1781. From this period his life presents a scene of less diversity, for although he still continued to trade with the Indians, he contrived to carry on his business through the medium of clerks, whom he sent to the different posts in that country in his stead, while he himself fixed his residence in Montreal.

"During his life he had been several times subjected to heavy pecuniary losses, from various casualties incident to the trade he was engaged in; he had, in fact, realized at different times what might be considered a handsome fortune, and been frequently

deprived of it by some untoward accident or other. At last his indefatigable perseverance triumphed and reaped its due reward, for at the time when he left off his journies to the Indian country, he was possessed of a handsome competency; and soon after getting married, he settled to enjoy it in the bosom of his family and amidst a circle of highly respectable friends.

"The method in which he now carried on his Indian trade necessarily obliged him to engage a number of young men as clerks. Some of these, we believe, are still alive, and can bear testimony to the kind and honourable treatment which they experienced at his hand; and who still retain a grateful sense of the advantages they reaped from his extensive experience in this trade.*

"For some years subsequent to 1781 we find Mr. Henry, in addition to his pursuits in the fur trade, carrying on business as a general merchant in Montreal. How long he continued to carry on the two occupations is not certain, but he ultimately disposed of his privileges in the Indian country to the North-West Company, and resigning the active department of the business to them, became a dormant partner in that firm, where he continued till 1796. Having disposed of his share in this establishment, he now relinquished all connection with the Indian trade, and during the rest of his life devoted his whole attention to the business of a general merchant.

"Mr. Henry's high character for correctness, and his punctuality in business soon secured to him the confidence and esteem of a wide circle of correspondents. His business increasing beyond what one in-

*It is unnecessary to enumerate those who were indebted to him for his advice and assistance in this way; but we believe J. J. Astor, Esq., of New York, among others, commenced his pursuits in the fur trade under Mr. Henry's direction.

dividual could attend to, he took an old acquaintance and tried friend into partnership with him, about twenty-five years before his death, which allowed a relaxation from the more arduous duties of business, suitable for his advanced age. To his well-known talents as a merchant and his firmly established character for integrity he was indebted for his appointment as King's Auctioneer for the District of Montreal, a situation which he received in 1812 and retained during the remainder of his days.

"After spending a life exposed to such trials, hardships and vicissitudes as we have noticed in the course of this memoir, and which nothing but a more than usual vigour of constitution could have protracted for so long a period, Mr. Henry died in Montreal on April 4th, 1824. The close of his existence farther indicated the strength of his constitution: for some months previous to his death his friends had observed an approaching debility of frame, which daily increased, till at last he sunk under no specific disease, but from a general decay of nature, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

"After what has been already stated, little more is required to give the attentive reader an idea of the prominent parts of Mr. Henry's character. He seemed by nature every way formed for the arduous duties of the life he had led. To a mind whose chief attributes were energy, perseverance and determined courage, suitable for the accomplishment of any enterprise to which danger or difficulty was attached, Mr. Henry joined a body formed for the endurance of fatigue and capable of great exertion. He was about the middle size, distinguished by an easy and dignified deportment, and a symetry of shape, which attracted the notice of both the savage and the civilized, for among the Indian nations he went by the epithet of "the handsome Englishman," and it may be remarked, as a proof that the idea that

manly beauty is the same among all nations, for on his appearance at the court of France, he was known by the same distinctive appellation. Of his talents, the best estimate may be formed by a perusal of his writings, which bear unequivocal testimony of his having been a man of attentive observation. His manners bespoke a candid, open disposition, and formed a passport to an acquaintance immediately on being introduced to him. All these, combined with his social habits, extensive information, and the agreeable method in which he could convey a description of whatever he had seen, from the possession of colloquial talents of the first rate, drew around him a number of friends whose sincere esteem he possessed to the hour of his death."

We get occasional glimpses of Henry between 1777 and 1793, while he was still engaged in the fur trade, in the Canadian Archives and the Montreal *Gazette*, which are quite in accordance with the high character given him. In 1785 he is one of the leading merchants of Montreal who presented a farewell address to the late Acting-Governor, Hon. Henry Hamilton, and in January, 1787, signs an address of thanks to certain merchants of Montreal, passed at a meeting held at the Recollets Convent. We meet here also, for the first time, the signature of Alexander Henry, Jr. In August of the same year we find him signing a memorial from the heads of the General Society at Michilimackinac. Complaints had been made as to the conduct of Mr. Dease, the superintendent of Indian affairs, and Mr. Ainse, the interpreter, and Lord Dorchester appointed a commission in 1788 to investigate the charges, composed of three military officers and two merchants, of whom Mr. Henry was one. In 1789 he is back in Montreal

and signs an address of welcome to the loyalist Bishop of Nova Scotia, Charles Inglis, on his first visit to Montreal. One of the difficulties which continually annoyed the furtraders was the uncertainty about the character of their men, to whom so much was entrusted, and in 1789, Henry, with ten other firms, agrees "not to employ any voyageur unless he produced a certificate from his curé." His military duties seem also to have been attended to, for His Excellency the Governor grants him the same year his commission as lieutenant. In 1790 he is back in Michilimackinac attending the commission to which he had been appointed in 1788, evidently displeased at its slow progress, for "Messrs. William Grant and Henry, traders, belonging to the General Partnership, who were on the Board, said publicly that the proofs took too long—that they should be trading and not holding such enquiries—that they had pressing business elsewhere." In May, 1791, he publishes an announcement that "The subscriber being about to quit the Province for some months, requests those who may have contract or other engagements with him, to address themselves to Messrs. McTavish, Frobisher and Company, with whom he leaves the management of his affairs during his absence.—Alexander Henry." In 1792 he is one of those signing the address to Sir John Johnson on his departure, and in the following year a subscriber to the Voyageur's Relief Fund. Long after he left the fur trade, and was acting as King's Auctioneer, an incident occurred which illustrates the customs troubles of early days. The Montreal *Herald*, of March, 1812, says: "On the evening of Saturday or Sunday last, a gang of

lawless villains forcibly broke into the store of Alexander Henry, Esq., and robbed it of thirty-four chests of tea, which had been formerly seized by the Custom House officials as smuggled property. When they reached the partition dividing the back from the front of the store they bored an upper and lower line of holes with an auger, exactly parallel, driving in the intermediate space, thus making room for a chest of tea. From the nature of the work it must have taken a dozen experienced, hardy, and villainous rogues to complete the atrocious task." Henry advertised, offering a reward of $200 and "promising to keep the informer's name secret." Whether he succeeded in getting it back is not stated. We learn from "Doige's Alphabetical List of Merchants of Montreal" that Messrs. Henry & Bethune occupied, in 1823, No. 129 St. Paul Street. Mr. Bethune was a nephew of Henry's, and resided with him at 14 St. Urbain Street.

Alexander Henry's "Travels and Adventures" were published in New York in 1807, and seem to have attracted little attention. They appear to have been compiled from "details from time to time committed to paper during his wanderings." The earlier portion shows a want of correctness in the distances mentioned, which is the more surprising when we consider that he had "Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Travels" in his hands for some years, and makes quotations from it. The first part of this book, containing a history of the Canadian fur trade, said to have been written by Roderick Mackenzie, has detailed measurements of the distances and of the obstructions to navigation between Montreal and

Athabasca. It contains no reference to Henry, though the expedition to the Saskatchewan, in which Henry took part, is mentioned. Henry is constantly confusing leagues and miles, sometimes using miles when leagues would be correct, and sometimes the reverse. In Chapter II., page 24, he loses a whole month, writing July instead of August. But these blemishes are readily overlooked in the face of the correctness of his description and clear, simple, Defoe-like style. We look in vain for a rival in these respects. [With only one other American traveller of his century can he be compared—Jonathan Carver—whose narrative will always be read as the soldierly record of the earliest experience of an Englishman in that portion of the continent immediately to the south of the country described by Henry, but wanting that simplicity of style which is the charm of Henry's book. [In addition to which Henry covered greater distances, described more dangerous adventures, and displayed a greater familiarity with the manners and customs of the savage people whom he visited.] That he dedicated his book to Sir Joseph Banks would imply that he had met that friend of discoverers during one of his visits to England, and that a common love of natural history and ethnology had drawn them together.

Henry's eldest son, William, born about 1783, inherited the adventurous spirit of his father. Entering the service of the North-West Company as a clerk, he was stationed from 1801 to 1809 at different posts in what is now the Province of Manitoba, part of his time being spent with his cousin, Alexander Henry, Jr. While in a camp of Assiniboines he barely escaped

William Henry æt. 72.

(From a Daguerreotype).

being stabbed by a drunken Saulteur. In 1810 he was in charge of the North-West Company's post at Cumberland House, and in the following year was on the Athabasca River, where he established a new post which was marked on the maps as Henry's House, though it was destroyed after an existence of only two or three years. It stood at the junction of the Miette River with the Athabasca facing the Yellowhead Pass, and was the most southerly post on the latter river. Its site was visited by Franchère in 1814, and Ross Cox in 1817. From thence he was removed westward to the post on the Williamette River (Oregon), where he remained in charge until 1816. Orders from Canada caused him to return to Fort William on Lake Superior, and in 1817 he was sent to Lesser Slave Lake. At the time of the amalgamation of the two fur companies he returned to Montreal and became a surveyor and civil engineer. Here he married the sister of Mr. John Felton. About 1848 he removed to the town of Newmarket, thirty miles north of Toronto and continued there his profession of land surveyor. He died about 1864. The portrait which appears on the opposite page is reproduced from a daguerreotype taken about 1855. During his residence in the Rocky Mountains, among other stirring adventures, he encountered a grizzly bear, which tore off his scalp, before he was rescued by an Indian. He also carried to his grave the marks of knife wounds received at different times in quarrels with the Indians. His brother-in-law, John Felton, who lived for the latter part of his life near Sherbrooke, Province of Quebec, had been signal midshipman on Nelson's flagship, the

Victory, at the battle of Trafalgar, and had been present also at the battle of Copenhagen, for both of which engagements he received medals. At the blockade of Guadalope, West Indies, he was the officer of the watch on board the Curieux, sloop-of-war, when she struck a rock and was wrecked. The court-martial which was held, acted hastily it was felt, in finding that, "though the wreck was caused by circumstances beyond his control, he should be dismissed the service." During the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, His Royal Highness, when in Sherbrooke, sent for Felton, and to the great satisfaction of his neighbours and friends received him with the greatest cordiality, and exercised the prerogative delegated by the Queen, by restoring him to the position he had lost.

Alexander, the second son, also entered the service of the North-West Company, but does not appear to have distinguished himself. From George Keith's despatch to Roderick Mackenzie, from the Mackenzie River Department, we learn of his end. "Sorry I am to add that the late Mr. Alexander Henry with four men and some women and children suffered an untimely and barbarous fate, all having been most cruelly murdered by a strong party of natives of that post (Fort Nelson, Liard River)."

Julia, the third child and only daughter, died unmarried. Of the children of William, the eldest named after his father, nothing is known, but the second son, Charles, preserved the family restlessness of disposition. He was born in Montreal in 1832 and taken to Newmarket, when the family removed. In his thirteenth year he ran away from home, mak-

ing his way to the seaboard, and shipped before the mast in a merchant vessel. Two years after, he joined a whaler, cruising about for four years. The ship "Catherine," in which he was at the time, was wrecked on the Island of Hawaii, only three of the crew reaching shore, one of whom was Charles, who floated into safety on a hencoop. One of the three commenced almost immediately to fight with the natives and was killed, but the two survivors, after trial before the tribal council, were permitted to stay on the island. They both took native wives, and built themselves huts. At the end of three months the arrival of a vessel in the harbour afforded them an opportunity of escaping, which they did, by stealing a canoe. Charles then joined the American navy, was in service during the Mexican war, and was paid off in 1857. He frequently applied for a pension but was never granted one. He next turns up as a driver of a mule wagon for the American Government at Fort Snelling. In 1862 he returned to Canada and spent the remainder of his days in Barrie, on Lake Simcoe, about sixty miles north of Toronto and some thirty miles north of his old home at Newmarket. He died in June, 1897, in somewhat reduced circumstances.

Julia, the third child, married B. W. Murray, Esq., accountant of the Supreme Court, Ontario, and resides in Toronto.

Among the most active opponents of the Hudson's Bay Company immediately before the union of the two companies, when the warfare was keenest, we meet with the name of Robert Henry. It occurs in

the papers published by Parliament "relating to the Red River settlement." Among the despatches captured by the Hudson's Bay Company was one from Robert Henry, dated May 22nd, 1816, addressed to his uncle, Alexander Henry, in which the determination of the employees of the North-West Company to fight their opponents is openly expressed, and the document is quoted by the Hudson's Bay Company as showing the murderous character of the Canadian traders. This Robert Henry was an adopted nephew who, in 1817, retired from the fur-trade, settling down in the town of Cobourg, on Lake Ontario, where he pursued for many years the business of banking, and died there in 1859, aged 81 years.

In this new edition all the typographical peculiarities of punctuation and capitals have been preserved, so that it is almost a fac-simile of the original. No omissions or alterations have been made in the text. The author's spelling of proper names has been retained throughout. His notes are indicated by the ordinary symbols, *, †, etc., and the editor's additional notes by the Arabic numerals. The illustrations of the warehouse occupied by Alexander Henry, which was situated upon the north-west corner of St. Paul and St. Nicholas streets, Montreal, show it as it appeared before its destruction by fire on January 23rd, 1901. The building was originally erected about 1670, by Jean Baptiste Migeon, agent for the West India Company, as a warehouse for furs and goods for the Indian country. Here La Salle received his supplies for his expedition to the Mississippi. In 1780 it was purchased by Henry for the storage of furs, and

Interior and South Exterior of the Warehouse on St. Paul Street, Montreal, occupied by Alexander Henry in 1780.

continued to be occupied for this purpose until its destruction. Its last proprietor was Mr. James Coristine, who says: "It had been much changed in thirty-five years. It was two-storied, with a high cellar and a gabled roof, with large dormer windows, covered with white tin. The entrance on the north side was by way of a turret, with winding stone steps, giving access to the upper stories. The material in the building was of surface stone, unquarried, and it was undoubtedly one of the first buildings erected in Montreal." The main room on the ground floor, shown in the upper illustration, was of great solidity, the ceiling being nearly six feet thick, and the openings capable of being shut, so as to exclude all the light.

The editor takes this opportunity of expressing his thanks to Mr. A. F. Hunter, Barrie, Ont., for his valuable notes and suggestions; to Mr. W. D. Lighthall, Westmount, Montreal, for photographs; and to Mr. C. C. James, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, for numerous notes.

JAMES BAIN.

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TRAVELS

AND ADVENTURES

IN

CANADA

AND

THE INDIAN TERRITORIES,

BETWEEN

THE YEARS 1760 AND 1776.

IN TWO PARTS.

BY ALEXANDER HENRY, ESQ.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY I. RILEY.

—

1809.

DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK, *ss.*

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twelfth day of October in the thirty-fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America, ISAAC RILEY, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, "between the years 1760 and 1776. In two parts. By ALEXANDER "HENRY, Esq."

IN CONFORMITY to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the "copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors "of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and to an "act, entitled, "An act, supplementary to an act, entitled, an act "for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, "charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, "during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits "thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical "and other prints."

CHARLES CLINTON,
Clerk of the District of New-York.

PART THE FIRST.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BARONET;

KNIGHT-COMPANION

OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH;

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL;

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY, F. S. A.

&c., &c., &c.

THIS VOLUME

WITH GREAT DEFERENCE.

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

HIS VERY DEVOTED,

AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

ALEXANDER HENRY.

Montreal, October 20th, 1809.

PREFACE.

A PREMATURE attempt to share in the fur-trade of Canada, directly on the conquest of the country, led the author of the following pages into situations of some danger and singularity; and the pursuit, under better auspices, of the same branch of commerce, occasioned him to visit various parts of the Indian Territories.

These transactions occupied a period of sixteen years, commencing nearly with the author's setting out in life. The details, from time to time committed to paper, form the subject matter of the present volume.

The heads, under which, for the most part, they will be found to range themselves, are three; first, the incidents or adventures in which the author was engaged; secondly, the observations, on the geography and natural history of the countries visited, which he was able to make, and to preserve;

and, thirdly, the views of society and manners, *among a part of the Indians of North America, which it has belonged to the course of his narrative to develope.*

Upon the last, the author may be permitted to remark, that he has by no means undertaken to write the general history of the American Indians, nor any theory of their morals, or their merits. With but few exceptions, it has been the entire scope of his design, simply to relate those particular facts, which are either identified with his own fortunes, or with the truth of which he is otherwise personally conversant. All comment, therefore, in almost all instances, is studiously avoided.

MONTREAL, October 20th, 1809.

TRAVELS

AND ADVENTURES,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Journies and Voyages between Oswegatchie and Montréal. Indian encampments. Indian hospitality. Winter travelling, in the wilder parts of Canada. Les Cédres, the uppermost white settlement on the river Saint-Lawrence. Author prepares for a voyage to Michilimackinac.

IN the year 1760, when the British arms, under General Amherst, were employed in the reduction of Canada,[1] I accompanied the expedition, which,

[1] The campaign during the summer of 1760, was undertaken to complete the conquest of Canada by the capture of the remaining portion of the French Army, which, under the command of Vaudreuil and Lévis, had retreated upon Montreal. The British and Colonial forces were divided into three divisions, General Murray being in command of that which was to ascend the St. Lawrence from Quebec; Brigadier Haviland that by way of Lake Champlain, and General Amherst with the main body to descend the St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario. His forces consisted of ten thousand, one hundred and forty-two men, and about seven hundred Indians. This strong force was thought necessary to prevent the escape of the French to Detroit and the West.

subsequently to the surrender of Quebec,* descended from Oswego, on Lake Ontario, against Fort de Levi,[2] one of the upper posts situate on an island, which lies on the south side of the great river, Saint-Lawrence, at a short distance below the mouth of the Oswegatchie.[3] Fort de Levi surrendered on the 21st day of August, seven days after the commencement of the siege; and General Amherst continued his voyage down the stream, carrying his forces against Montréal.

It happened, that in this voyage, one of the few fatal accidents, which are remembered to have occurred, in that dangerous part of the river, below Lake Saint-Français, called the Rapides des Cédres, befel the British army. Several boats, loaded with provisions and military stores, were lost, together

*Quebec surrendered on the 18th of September, 1759.

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[2] Fort Lévis was erected in 1759 on Isle Royale, now known as Chimney Island, about five miles east of the town of Prescott, Ontario, for the purpose of defending the western entrance to the St. Lawrence, which the destruction of Fort Frontenac in August, 1758, had left open. Pouchot who had surrendered Fort Niagara to Sir William Johnson on September 25th, 1759, was in command. The investment was made by Amherst on August 20th, 1760, and the fort surrendered on the 25th. The French lost fifty-two killed and wounded out of their entire force of two hundred and ninety-nine officers and men. A plan of the fort will be found in *Mante's History of the late war in North America*. London, 1772, p. 302, which has been reproduced in Hough's Edition of *Pouchot's Memoir upon the late war in North America*, Roxbury, 1866.

[3] Now Ogdensburg, New York.

with upward of a hundred men.[4] I had three boats, loaded with merchandize, all of which were lost; and I saved my life, only by gaining the bottom of one of my boats, which lay among the rocky shelves, and on which I continued for some hours, and until I was kindly taken off, by one of the general's aides-de-camp.

The surrender of Montréal, and, with it, the surrender of all Canada, followed that of Fort de Levi, at only the short interval of three days; and, proposing to avail myself of the new market, which was thus thrown open to British adventure, I hastened to Albany, where my commercial connections were, and where I procured a quantity of goods, with which I set out, intending to carry them to Montréal. For this, however, the winter was too near approached; I was able only to return to Fort de Levi, to which the conquerors had now given the name of Fort William-Augustus, and where I remained until the month of January, in the following year.

At this time, having disposed of my goods to the garrison, and the season, for travelling on the snow and ice, being set in, I prepared to go down to Montréal. The journey was to be performed through a country, inhabited only by Indians and by beasts of the forest, and which presented to the eye no other change, than from thick woods, to the broad

[4] Owing to want of proper precautions forty-six boats were wrecked, eighteen damaged and eighty-four men lost their lives, besides a considerable quantity of stores.

surface of a frozen river. It was necessary that I should be accompanied, as well by an interpreter as by a guide, to both of which ends, I engaged the services of a Canadian, named John-Baptist Bodoine.

The snow, which lay upon the ground, was, by this time, three feet in depth. The hour of departure arriving, I left the fort, on snow-shoes, an article of equipment which I had never used before, and which I found it not a little difficult to manage. I did not avoid frequent falls; and, when down, I was scarcely able to rise.

At sunset, on the first day, we reached an Indian encampment, of six lodges and about twenty men. As these people had been very recently employed offensively, against the English, in the French service, I agreed but reluctantly to the proposal of my guide and interpreter, which was nothing less, than that we should pass the night with them. My fears were somewhat lulled by his information, that he was personally acquainted with those who composed the camp, and by his assurances, that no danger was to be apprehended; and, being greatly fatigued, I entered one of the lodges, where I presently fell asleep.

Unfortunately, Bodoine had brought, upon his back, a small keg of rum, which, while I slept, he opened, not only for himself, but for the general gratification of his friends; a circumstance, of which I was first made aware, in being awakened, by a kick on the breast, from the foot of one of my hosts, and by a yell, or Indian cry, which immediately succeeded. At the

instant of opening my eyes, I saw that my assailant was struggling with one of his companions, who, in conjunction with several women, was endeavouring to restrain his ferocity. Perceiving, however, in the countenance of my enemy, the most determined mischief, I sprung upon my feet, receiving, in so doing, a wound in my hand, from a knife, which had been raised to give a more serious wound. While the rest of my guardians continued their charitable efforts for my protection, an old woman took hold of my arm, and, making signs that I should accompany her, led me out of the lodge, and then gave me to understand, that unless I fled, or could conceal myself, I should certainly be killed.

My guide was absent; and, without his direction, I was at a loss where to go. In all the surrounding lodges, there was the same howling and violence, as in that from which I had escaped. I was without my snow-shoes, and had only so much clothing as I had fortunately left upon me, when I lay down to sleep. It was now one o'clock in the morning, in the month of January, and in a climate of extreme rigour.

I was unable to address a single word, in her own language, to the old woman who had thus befriended me; but, on repeating the name of Bodoine, I soon found that she comprehended my meaning; and, having first pointed to a large tree, behind which, she made signs, that until she could find my guide, I should hide myself, she left me, on this important errand. Meanwhile, I made my way to the tree, and seated myself in the snow. From my retreat, I

beheld several Indians, running from one lodge to another, as if to quell the disturbance which prevailed.

The coldness of the atmosphere congealed the blood about my wound, and prevented further bleeding; and the anxious state of my mind rendered me almost insensible to bodily suffering. At the end of half an hour, I heard myself called, by Bodoine, whom, on going to him, I found as much intoxicated, and as much a savage, as the Indians themselves; but, he was nevertheless able to fetch my snow-shoes, from the lodge in which I had left them, and to point out to me a beaten path, which presently entered a deep wood, and which he told me I must follow.

After walking about three miles, I heard, at length, the foot-steps of my guide, who had now overtaken me. I thought it most prudent to abstain from all reproof; and we proceeded on our march till sun-rise, when we arrived at a solitary Indian hunting-lodge, built with branches of trees, and of which the only inhabitants were an Indian and his wife. Here, the warmth of a large fire reconciled me to a second experiment on Indian hospitality. The result was very different from that of the one which had preceded it; for, after relieving my thirst with melted snow, and my hunger with a plentiful meal of venison, of which there was a great quantity in the lodge, and which was liberally set before me, I resumed my journey, full of sentiments of gratitude, such as almost obliterated the recollection of what had befallen me, among the friends of my benefactors.

From the hunting-lodge, I followed my guide till evening, when we encamped on the banks of the Saint-Lawrence, making a fire, and supping on the meat with which our wallets had been filled in the morning.

While I indulged myself in rest, my guide visited the shore, where he discovered a bark canoe, which had been left there, in the beginning of the winter, by some Indian way-farers. We were now at the head of the Longue Sault, one of those portions of the river, in which it passes over a shallow, inclining and rocky bed, and where its motion consequently prevents it from freezing, even in the coldest part of the year; and my guide, as soon as he had made his discovery, recommended, that we should go by water down the rapids, as the means of saving time, of shortening our journey, and of avoiding a numerous body of Indians, then hunting on the banks below. The last of these arguments was, with me, so powerful, that though a bark canoe was a vehicle to which I was altogether a stranger; though this was a very small one,[5] of only sixteen or eighteen feet in length,*

* There are still smaller.

[5] This is about the usual length of the canoe in use on the smaller lakes and rivers, but the larger, which are known as North-West canoes, are required by traders for the transportation of heavy loads and for making the long traverses on the great lakes. These are from thirty to thirty-five feet long, five feet wide in the middle, with a depth of two feet three inches. They carry about six thousand pounds weight of stores and goods, and eight or ten men, two of whom can carry it over a portage.

and much out of repair; and though the misfortune which I had experienced, in the navigation of these rocky parts of the Saint-Lawrence, when descending with the army, naturally presented itself to my mind, as a still further discouragement, yet I was not long in resolving to undertake the voyage.

Accordingly, after stopping the leaks, as completely as we were able, we embarked, and proceeded. My fears were not lessened, by perceiving that the least unskilful motion was sufficient to overset the ticklish craft into which I had ventured; by the reflection, that a shock, comparatively gentle, from a mass of rock or ice, was more than its frail material could sustain; nor by observing that the ice, which lined the shores of the river, was too strong to be pushed through, and, at the same time, too weak to be walked upon, so that, in the event of disaster, it would be almost impossible to reach the land. In fact, we had not proceeded more than a mile, when our canoe became full of water, and it was not till after a long search, that we found a place of safety.

Treading, once more, upon dry ground, I should willingly have faced the wilderness and all its Indians, rather than embark again; but my guide informed me that I was upon an island, and I had therefore no choice before me. We stopped the leaks a second time, and recommenced our voyage, which we performed with success, but sitting, all the way, in six inches of water. In this manner, we arrived at the foot of the rapids, where the river was frozen all across. Here, we disembarked upon the ice, walked

to the bank, made a fire, and *encamped*; for such is the phrase employed, in the woods of Canada.

At day-break the next morning, we put on our snow-shoes, and commenced our journey over the ice; and, at ten o'clock, arrived in sight of Lake Saint-Français, which is from four to six miles in breadth[6] The wind was high, and the snow, drifting over the expanse, prevented us, at times, from discovering the land, and consequently (for compass we had none), from pursuing, with certainty, our course.

Toward noon, the storm became so violent, that we directed our steps to the shore, on the north side, by the shortest route we could; and, making a fire, dined on the remains of the Indian hunter's bounty. At two o'clock, in the afternoon, when the wind had subsided, and the atmosphere grown more clear, I discerned a *cariole*, or sledge, moving our way, and immediately sent my guide to the driver, with a request, that he would come to my encampment. On his arrival, I agreed with him to carry me to Les Cédres,[7] a distance of eight leagues, for a reward of eight dollars. The driver was a Canadian, who had been to the Indian village of Saint-Regis,[8] and was

[6] More exact measurements show that the widest part of Lake St. Francis is rather less than five miles.

[7] In Soulanges County, Que., 27 miles south-west of Montreal.

[8] A settlement of French Mohawk Indians, on the boundary line between the United States and Canada, where it touches the St. Lawrence river, four miles south-east of Cornwall, Ont.

now on his return to Les Cédres, the uppermost white settlement on the Saint-Lawrence.

Late in the evening, I reached Les Cédres, and was carried to the house of M. Leduc, its seignior,[9] by whom I was politely and hospitably received. M. Leduc being disposed to converse with me, it became a subject of regret, that neither party understood the language of the other; but, an interpreter was fortunately found, in the person of a serjeant of His Majesty's Eighteenth Regiment of Foot.

I now learned, that M. Leduc, in the earlier part of his life, had been engaged in the fur-trade, with the Indians of Michilimackinac and Lake Superior. He informed me of his acquaintenance with the Indian languages, and his knowledge of furs; and gave me to understand, that Michilimackinac was richer, in this commodity, than any other part of the world. He added, that the Indians were a peaceable race of men, and that an European might travel, from one side of the continent to the other without experiencing insult. Further, he mentioned, that a *guide*, who lived at no great distance from his house, could confirm the truth of all that he had advanced.

I, who had previously thought of visiting Michilimackinac, with a view to the Indian trade, gave the strictest attention to all that fell, on this subject, from my host; and, in order to possess myself, as far as

[9] Jean Baptiste Leduc, seigneur de l'Ile-Perrot: et etait au Bout-de-l'Ile, M., le II. Mars, 1757.—*Tanguay's Dictionnaire Généalogique*, vol. 5, p. 260.

possible, of all that might be collected in addition, I requested, that the *guide* should be sent for. This man arrived; and a short conversation terminated in my engaging him to conduct myself, and the canoes which I was to procure, to Michilimackinac, in the month of June following.

There being, at this time, no goods in Montreal,[10] adapted to the Indian trade, my next business was to proceed to Albany, to make my purchases there. This I did in the beginning of the month of May, by the way of Lake Champlain; and, on the 15th of June, arrived again in Montréal, bringing with me my outfits. As I was altogether a stranger to the commerce in which I was engaging, I confided in the recommendations, given me, of one Etienne Campion, as my assistant; a part which he uniformly fulfilled with honesty and fidelity.

His Excellency, General Gage,[11] who now command-

[10] The blockade of the St. Lawrence for two years had prevented both the Government and the merchants from replenishing their warehouses and the English merchants were slowly arriving.

[11] Born in 1721, he entered the army in 1741, attaining the rank of Brigadier-General in 1759, when he was sent to supersede Johnson who had taken command of the forces before Niagara on the death of Prideaux. He commanded the rear-guard of Amherst's army during the descent of the St. Lawrence. After the capitulation he was appointed Governor of the District of Montreal. In 1774 he was Governor of Massachusetts and in 1776, Commander-in-Chief of the North American forces. He died in 1787.

ed in chief, in Canada, very reluctantly granted me the permission, at this time requisite, for going to Michilimackinac. No treaty of peace had yet been made, between the English and the Indians, which latter were in arms, under Pontiac, an Indian leader, of more than common celebrity, and General Gage was therefore strongly, and (as it became manifest) but too justly apprehensive, that both the property and lives of His Majesty's subjects would be very insecure, in the Indian countries. But, he had already granted such permission to a Mr. Bostwick[12]; and this I was able to employ, as an argument against his refusal, in respect to myself. General Gage complied; and on the 3d day of August, 1761, after some further delay, in obtaining a passport from the town-major, I dispatched my canoes to Lachine, there to take in their lading.

[12] An English trader who was afterwards present with Henry at Michilimackinac. He escaped the massacre and was brought by the Ottawas to Montreal, where he was ransomed.

CHAPTER II.

Voyage from Montréal to Michilimackinac. Canoes. Canoe-men. Lachine. Saint-Anne. Lake Des Deux Montagnes. Indian Mission. Description of part of the river Des Outaouais. Indians returning from the chace—their opinion of the Author's undertaking. Claims of the Algonquins, on the banks of the Outaouais—their regard to the right of property. Leave the Outaouais, and enter the Matawa.

THE inland navigation, from Montréal to Michilimackinac, may be performed, either by the way of Lakes, Ontario and Erie, or by the river Des Outaouais, Lake Nipisingue and the river Des Français,[1] for, as well by one as the other of these routes, we are carried to Lake Huron. The second is the shortest, and that which is usually pursued by the canoes, employed in the Indian trade.

The canoes, which I provided for my undertaking, were, as is usual, five fathom and a half in length, and four feet and a half in their extreme breadth, and formed of birch-tree bark, a quarter of an inch in thickness. The bark is lined with small splints of cedar-wood; and the vessel is further strengthened

[1] Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing and French River.

with ribs of the same wood, of which the two ends are fastened to the gunwales: several bars, rather than seats, are also laid across the canoe, from gunwale to gunwale. The small roots of the spruce-tree afford the *wattap*, with which the bark is sewed; and the gum of the pine-tree supplies the place of tar and oakum. Bark, some spare wattap and gum, are always carried in each canoe, for the repairs which frequently become necessary.

The canoes are worked, not with oars, but with paddles; and, occasionally, with a sail. To each canoe there are eight men; and to every three or four canoes, which constitute a *brigade*, there is a *guide* or conductor. Skilful men, at double the wages of the rest, are placed in the head and stern. They engage to go from Montréal to Michilimackinac, and back to Montréal again, the middle-men at one hundred and fifty livres[2] and the end-men at three hundred livres, each.* The *guide* has the command of his brigade, and is answerable for all pillage and loss; and, in return, every man's wages is answerable to him. This regulation was established under the French government.

* These particulars may be compared with those of a more modern date, given in the Voyages of Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

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[2] By the ordinance of 1764, the shilling (colonial currency) was adopted as the basis, and declared equal to one French livre. The British shilling was rated at one shilling and four pence and the dollar at six shillings. Consequently the middle-men received twenty-five dollars, and the end men fifty dollars each.

PARDEVANT les NOTAIRES de la Province du Bas Canada, à Montreal y résident, soussignés, Fut présent

Joseph Seguire de Yamaska

lequel s'est volontairement Engagé et s'Engage par ces Présents à Messrs. M^cTAVISH, FROBISHER & Co Mr. [illegible] un des dits Associés, à ce présent et acceptant, pour à leur premiere réquisition partir de cette Ville en qualité de *milieu* dans un de leurs Canots pour faire le voyage tant en montant *qu'en descendant du grand portage aller & venir*

et passer par *Michilimakinac* si il en est requis, passer Huit Pièces sur le *Grand Portage* en entrant, et *quatre* Pacquets en sortant, ou rabattre Six Livres ou Chelins ancien cours par chaque piéce ou paquet, à l'option des dits Sieurs McTavish, Frobisher & Co, ou leur représentant et de travailler six jours à tous autres ouvrages, excepté de passer encore des piéces. S'oblige d'aller au *Lac de la Pluie* s'il est nécessaire, en augmentant les gages cy après de *Cent* livres ou chelins, et avoir bien et dûment soin pendant les routes, et étant au dit lieu des Marchandises, Vivres, Pelleteries, Ustenciles et de toutes les choses nécessaires pour le voyage; servir, obéir, et exécuter fidélement tout ce que les dits Sieurs Bourgeois ou tous autres représentans leurs personnes auxquelles ils pourroient transporter le présent engagement, lui commanderont de licite et honnête, faire leur profit, éviter leurs dommages, les en avertir s'il vient à sa connoissance et généralement tout ce qu'un bon engagé doit et est obligé de faire; sans pouvoir faire aucune traite particuliére, s'absenter ni quitter le dit service, sous les peines portées par les Loix de cette Province et de perdre ses gages. Cet engagement ainsi fait, pour et moyenant la somme de *Deux Cent trente* Livres ou Chelins ancien courant de cette Province, qu'ils promettent et s'obligent de bailler payer au dit engagé un mois après son retour en cette ville, et à son départ l'équipement *simple* reconnoit avoir reçu d'avance à compte *cinquante livres* s'oblige de contribuer d'un par cent sur ses gages pour le fonds des Voyageurs. Car ainsi &c. Promettant, &c. Obligeant, &c. Renonçant, &c.

Fait et passé à Montréal en l'Etude du Notaire soussigné, l'an mil sept cent quatre-vingt-*dix sept* le *Vingt* de *Decembre* à *neuf* midi; et ont signé à l'exception du dit engagé qui ayant déclaré ne le savoir faire, de ce enquis; a fait sa marque ordinaire après lecture faite. *ainsi qu'il est en la minutte des presentes.*

Copy of the Form of Contract with Voyageurs.

The freight of a canoe, of the substance and dimensions which I have detailed, consist of sixty *pieces*, or packages, of merchandize, of the weight of from ninety to a hundred pounds each; and provisions to the amount of one thousand weight. To this is to be added, the weight of eight men, and of eight bags, weighing forty pounds each, one of which every man is privileged to put on board. The whole weight must therefore exceed eight thousand pounds; or may perhaps be averaged at four tons.

The nature of the navigation, which is to be described, will sufficiently explain, why the canoe is the only vessel which can be employed along its course. The necessity, indeed, becomes apparent, at the very instant of our departure from Montréal itself.

The Saint-Lawrence, for several miles, immediately above Montréal, descends, with a rapid current, over a shallow rocky bed; insomuch, that even canoes themselves, when loaded, cannot resist the stream, and are therefore sent empty to Lachine, where they meet the merchandize which they are to carry, and which is transported thither by land.* Lachine is about nine miles higher up the river, than Montréal, and is at the head of the Sault de Saint-Louis, which is the highest of the *saults*, falls, or *leaps*, in this part of the Saint-Lawrence.

* *La Chine*, or China, has always been the point of departure, for the upper countries. It owes its name to the expeditions of M. de la Salle, which were fitted out at this place, for the discovery of a north-west passage to China.

On the third of August, I sent my canoes to Lachine; and, on the following morning, embarked with them, for Michilimackinac. The river is here so broad as to be denominated a lake, by the title of Lake Saint-Louis; the prospect is wide and cheerful; and the village has several well-built houses.

In a short time, we reached the rapids and carrying-place of Saint-Anne, two miles below the upper end of the island of Montréal; and it is not till after passing these, that the voyage may be properly said to be commenced.[3] At Saint-Anne's, the men go to confession, and, at the same time, offer up their vows; for the saint, from which this parish derives its name, and to whom its church is dedicated, is the patroness of the Canadians, in all their travels by water.

There is still a further custom to be observed, on arriving at Saint-Anne's, and which is, that of distributing eight gallons of rum to each canoe (a gallon for each man) for consumption during the voyage; nor is it less according to custom, to drink the whole of this liquor upon the spot.—The saint, therefore, and the priest, were no sooner dismissed, than a scene of intoxication began, in which my men surpassed, if possible, the drunken Indian, in singing, fighting, and the display of savage gesture and conceit. In the morning, we reloaded the canoes, and pursued our course, across the lake Des Deux Montagnes.

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[3] "Soon as the woods on the shore look dim,
We'll sing at St. Ann's our parting hymn."
Canadian Boat Song.—Moore.

This lake, like that of Saint-Louis, is only a part of the estuary of the Outaouais, which here unites itself with the Saint-Lawrence, or rather, according to some, the Cataraqui; for, with these, the Saint-Lawrence is formed by the confluence of the Cataraqui and Outaouais.*

At noon, we reached the Indian Mission of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice,[4] situate on the north bank of the lake, with its two villages, Algonquin and Iroquois, in each of which was reckoned an hundred souls. Here, we received a hospitable reception, and remained during two hours. I was informed, by one of the missionaries, that since the conquest of the country, the unrestrained introduction of spirituous liquors, at this place, which had not been allowed un-

*This is the *Utawas* of some writers, the *Ottaway* of others, &c., &c., &c. It is also called the Grand River—*la Grande Riviere.*

[4] Canasadaga, or the Lake of the Two Mountains, now the village of Oka, was a mission established by the Sulpicians for Christianizing the vagrant Algonquin and Iroquois Indians, who clustered round the walls of Montreal in the early days of its settlement. They were first gathered together in its neighbourhood, afterwards were removed to the Sault-au-Recollet, and finally settled upon the seigniory of the Lac de Deux Montagnes, where Henry found them. Disputes as to the ownership of the land aggravated by religious controversies, led to the removal of a portion of them in 1884, to the township of Gibson, Ontario. Alexander Mackenzie, in his "*Voyages Through the Continent of North America*," p. xxix., says that they numbered 500 warriors. The present Indian population is 413.

der the former government, had occasioned many outrages.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, we prosecuted our voyage; and, at sun-set, disembarked, and encamped, at the foot of the Longue Sault.—There is a *Longue Sault*, both on this river, and on the Saint-Lawrence.

At ten leagues, above the island of Montréal, I passed the limits of the cultivated lands, on the north bank of the Outaouais.[5] On the south, the farms are very few in number; but the soil has every appearance of fertility.*

In ascending the Longue Sault, a distance of three miles, my canoes were three times unladen, and, together with their freight, carried on the shoulders of the *voyageurs*.[6] The rocky carrying-places are not crossed, without danger of serious accidents, by men bearing heavy burdens.

The Longue Sault being passed, the Outaouais presented, on either side, only scenes of primitive forest, the common range of the deer, the wolf, the bear and the Indian. The current is here gentle. The lands upon the south are low, and, when I passed them,

* Numerous and thriving colonists are now enjoying that fertility.—1809.

[5] The seigniories extended to Carillon, about twenty-five miles from the island of Montreal.

[6] The Grenville canal was constructed to pass these dangerous rapids.

were overflowed; but, on the northern side, the banks are dry and elevated, with much meadow-land at their feet. The grass, in some places, was high. Several islands are in this part of the river. Among the fish, of which there are abundance, are cat-fish, of a large size.

At fourteen leagues,[7] above the Longue Sault, we reached a French fort, or trading-house, surrounded by a stockade. Attached, was a small garden, from which we procured some vegetables. The house had no inhabitant. At three leagues further, is the mouth of the Hare-river,[8] which descends from the north; and here we passed another trading-house. At a few leagues still higher, on the south-bank, is the mouth of a river four hundred yards wide, and which falls into the Outaouais perpendicularly, from the edge of a rock, forty feet high. The appearance of this fall, has procured for it the name of the *rideau*, or *curtain*; and hence the river itself is called the Rideau, or *Riviere du Rideau*. The fall presented itself to my view, with extraordinary beauty and magnificence, and decorated with a variety of colours.[9]

Still ascending the Outaouais, at three leagues[10] from the fall of the Rideau, is that of La Grande Chaudière,* a phenomenon of a different aspect.

* La Grande Chaudière, *i.e.* the Great Kettle.

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[7] Actually about thirty-four miles.

[8] Rivière au Lievre.

[9] In the immediate vicinity of Rideau Hall.

[10] The actual distance is about two and one-half miles.

Here, on the north side of the river, is a deep chasm, running across the channel, for about two hundred yards, from twenty-five to thirty feet in depth, and without apparent outlet. In this receptacle, a large portion of the river falls perpendicularly, with a loud noise, and amid a cloud of spray and vapour; but, embellished, from time to time, with the bright and gorgeous rainbow. The river, at this place, is a mile in width. In the rainy season, the depth of the fall is lessened, by reason of the large quantity of water, which is received into the chasm, and which, for want, as it would seem, of a sufficient drain, in part, fills it up. At such times, an eddy, and an accumulation of foam, at a particular part of the chasm, have led me to suspect the existence of an opening beneath, through which the water finds a subterranean passage. The rock, which forms the bed of the river, appears to be split, in an oblique direction, from one shore to the other; and the chasm, on the north side, is only a more perfect breach.

The fall of La Grande Chaudière, is more than twenty leagues above the Longue Sault. Its name is justified, both by its form, and by the vapour, or steam, which ascends from it. Above it, there are several islands, of which the land is higher at the upper, than at the lower extremities. The carrying-place, is not more than a quarter of a mile in length,[11] over a smooth rock, and so near the fall, that the men, in passing, are wetted by the spray. From this carry-

[11] Mackenzie says 643 paces.

ing-place, to another, of rather more length, called the Portage de la Chaudière, and, sometimes, the Second Chaudière, is only three miles.

In this part of the voyage, I narrowly escaped a fatal accident. A thunder-gust having obliged us to make the shore, the men went into the woods, for shelter, while I remained in my canoe, under a covering of bark. The canoe had been intended to be sufficiently drawn aground; but to my consternation, it was not long before, while thus left alone, I perceived it to be adrift, and going, with the current, toward La Grande Chaudière. Happily, I made a timely discovery of my situation; and, getting out, in shallow water, was enabled, by the assistance of the men, who soon heard my call to save my property, along with my life.

At twelve miles,[12] from the second Portage de la Chaudière, there is a third Chaudière, but also called the Portage des Chênes. The name of this carrying-place is derived from the oak-trees, with which it abounds. It is half a mile in length, level, and of an agreeable aspect.

The bed of the river is here very broad, for a space of twelve leagues, or thirty-six miles; and in this part of its course, it is called Lake des Chaudières,[13] a name derived from the falls below. The current, in this

[12] Really about five miles. The portage is given by Mackenzie as 740 paces.

[13] The length of the lake is about twenty-five miles.

place, is scarcely perceptible. The lands, on either side, are high, and the soil is good. At the head of Lake des Chaudières, is the Portage des Châts. The carrying-place is a high uneven rock, of difficult access. The ridge of rock crosses the stream, and occasions not only one, but numerous falls, separated from each other by islands, and affording a scene of very pleasing appearance. At the distance of a mile, seven openings present themselves to the eye, along a line of two miles, which, at this point, is the breadth of the river. At each opening, is a fall of water, of about thirty feet in height, and which, from the whiteness of its foam, might be mistaken for a snow-bank. Above, for six miles,[14] there are many islands, between which, the current is strong. To overcome the difficulties of this part of the navigation, the canoes first carry one half of their loading, and, at a second trip, the remainder.

Above the islands, the river is six miles in width, and is called Lake des Châts. The lake, so called, is thirty miles long.[15] The lands about the lake, are like those of Lake des Chaudières; but, higher up, they are both high and rocky, and covered with no other wood than spruce and stunted pine.

While paddling against the gentle current of Lake des Châts, we met several canoes of Indians, returning, from their winter's hunt, to their village, at the lake Des Deux Montagnes. I purchased some of their maple-sugar, and beaver-skins, in exchange for provi-

[14] Three miles.

[15] Lake des Châts is three miles wide and eighteen long.

sions. They wished for rum, which I declined to sell them; but they behaved civilly, and we parted, as we had met, in a friendly manner. Before they left us, they inquired, of my men, whether or not I was an Englishman, and being told that I was, they observed, that the English were mad, in their pursuit of beaver, since they could thus expose their lives for it; "for," added they, "the Upper Indians will certainly kill him," meaning myself. These Indians had left their village before the surrender of Montréal, and I was the first Englishman they had seen.

In conversation with my men, I learned that the Algonquins, of the lake Des Deux Montagnes, of which description were the party that I had now met, claim all the lands on the Outaouais, as far as Lake Nipisingue; and that these lands are subdivided, between their several families, upon whom they have devolved by inheritance. I was also informed, that they are exceedingly strict, as to the rights of property, in this regard, accounting an invasion of them an offence, sufficiently great to warrant the death of the invader.

We now reached the channels of the Grand Calumet, which lie amid numerous islands, and are about twenty miles in length. In this distance, there are four carrying-places,* besides three or four *decharges*,† or *discharges*, which are places where the merchandize only is carried, and are therefore distinguishable from *portages*, or carrying-places, where the canoe itself is

* Portage Dufort, &c. † Décharge des Sables, &c.

taken out of the water, and transported on men's shoulders. The four carrying-places,[16] included in the channels, are short; with the exception of one, called the Portage de la Montagne, at which, besides its length, there is an acclivity of a hundred feet.

On the 10th of July, we had reached the Portage du Grand Calumet, which is at the head of the channels of the same name, and which name is derived from the *pièrre a Càlumet*, or pipe-stone,* which here interrupts the river, occasioning a fall of water. This carrying-place is long and arduous,[17] consisting in a high steep hill, over which the canoe cannot be carried by fewer than twelve men. The method of carrying the packages, or *pieces*, as they are called, is the same with that of the Indian women, and which, indeed, is not peculiar, even to them. One piece rests and hangs upon the shoulders, being suspended in a fillet, or forehead-band; and upon this is laid a second, which usually falls into the hollow of the neck, and assists the head, in its support of the burden.

The ascent of this carrying-place is not more fatiguing, than the descent is dangerous; and, in per-

* The *pièrre à calumet* is a compact lime-stone, yielding easily to the knife, and therefore employed for the bowls of tobacco-pipes, both by the Indians and Canadians.

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[16] Portages Du Fort, de la Montagne, D'Argis, and a smaller nameless one.

[17] Mackenzie says, "This is the longest carrying place in this river and is about two thousand and thirty-five paces."

forming it, accidents too often occur, producing strains, ruptures, and injuries for life.*

The carrying-place, and the repairs of our canoes, which cost us a day, detained us till the 13th. It is usual for the canoes to leave the Grand Calumet in good repair; the *rapids*, or shallow rocky parts of the channel (from which the canoes sustain the chief injury) being now passed, the current become gentle, and the carrying-places less frequent. The lands, above the carrying-places, and near the water, are low; and, in the spring, entirely inundated.

On the morning of the 14th, we reached a trading fort, or house, surrounded by a stockade, which had been built by the French, and at which the quantity of peltries received was once not inconsiderable. For twenty miles below this house, the borders of the river are peculiarly well adapted to cultivation. From some Indians, who were encamped near the house, I purchased fish, dried and fresh.

At the rapids, called Des Allumettes, are two short carrying-places, above which is the *riviere Creuse*,† twenty-six miles in length, where the water flows, with a gentle current, at the foot of a high, mountainous, barren and rocky country, on the north, and has a low and sandy soil on the south. On this southern side, is a remarkable point of sand, stretching far into the

* A charitable fund is now established in Montreal for the relief of disabled and decayed *voyageurs*.

† Called, by the English, *Deep-river*.

stream, and on which it is customary to baptize novices. Above the river Creuse, are the two carrying-places, of the length of half a mile each, called the Portages des Deux Joachins;[18] and, at fifteen miles[19] further, at the mouth of the river Du Moine, is another fort, or trading-house, where I found a small encampment of Indians called Maskegons,[20] and with whom I bartered several articles, for furs. They anxiously inquired, whether or not the English were in possession of the country below, and whether or not, if they were, they would allow traders to come to that trading-house; declaring, that their families must starve, unless they should be able to procure ammunition and other necessaries. I answered both these questions in the affirmative, at which they expressed much satisfaction.

Above the Moine, are several strong and dangerous rapids, reaching to the Portage du Roche-Capitaine, a carrying-place of three quarters of a mile in length,[21] mountainous, rocky, and wooded only with stunted pine-trees and spruce. Above this, is the Portage des Dieux Rivières, so called, from the two small rivers by which it is intersected[22]; and, higher still, are many

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[18] "The first is 926 paces and the next 720, and both very bad roads."—*Mackenzie.*

[19] Nine miles.

[20] One of the divisions of the Algonquins, now known as the Muskey, or Swampy Crees, who occupy the country to the north and north-west of the Lake of the Woods. The name is variously spelled Maskigoes, Maskegon, Muscaigoes.

[21] 720 paces.—*Mackenzie.*

[22] The portage of the two rivers is 820 paces.

rapids, and shoals, called, by the Indians, *matawa.** Here, the river, called, by the French, Petite Rivière, and, by the Indians, Matawa Sipi, falls into the Outaouais. We now left the latter of these rivers, and proceeded to ascend the Matawa.[23]

* Mataouan (Matawan), *Charlevoix;* Matawoen,—*Mackenzie's Voyages.*

[23] Now known as the River Mattawan, near the junction of which with the Ottawa, is the town of Mattawa. The mouth of the Mattawan is 308 miles from Montreal.

CHAPTER III.

Voyage from Montréal to Michilimackinac, continued. River Matawa. Lake Nipisingue. Height of land. Nipisingues, Indians so called,—their nation and language. Animals of the country. Mouth of the lake. Portage de la Chaudière Française. Traces of the ancient action of water at high levels. River des Français. Embark on Lake Huron. Description of its northern shores. Isle de la Cloche. Indian Village. Missisakies. Indians persuaded that the Author will be killed, at Michilimackinac, and therefore demand a share in the pillage. Author disguises himself, as a Canadian—in what that disguise consists—meets frequent canoes, filled with Indians, and is not recognized to be an Englishman. River Missisaki. Islands of Manitoualin. Indians cultivate maize. River O'tossalon. Island of Michilimackinac. Indian Village.

OUR course, in ascending the Outaouais, had been west-north-west; but, on entering the Matawa, our faces were turned to the south-west.[1] This latter river is computed to be fourteen leagues in length.[2] In the

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[1] The general course of the Mattawan is from the west.

[2] The Mattawan river rises in Trout lake, formerly known as Turtle lake, and is thirty-four miles in length.

widest parts, it is a hundred yards broad, and in others not more than fifty. In ascending it, there are fourteen carrying-places and discharges, of which some are extremely difficult. Its banks are almost two continuous rocks, with scarcely earth enough for the burial of a dead body. I saw Indian graves, if graves they might be called, where the corpse was laid upon the bare rock, and covered with stones. In the side of a hill, on the north side of the river, there is a curious cave, concerning which marvellous tales are related, by the *voyageurs*. Mosquitoes, and a minute species of black fly, abound on this river, the latter of which are still more troublesome than the former. To obtain a respite from their vexations, we were obliged, at the carrying-places, to make fires, and stand in the smoke.

On the 26th of August, we reached the Portages à la Vase,[3] three in number, and each two miles in length. Their name describes the boggy ground of which they consist. In passing one of them, we saw many beaver-houses and dams; and by breaking one of the dams, we let off water enough to float our canoes down a small stream, which would not otherwise have been navigable. These carrying-places, and the intermediate navigation, brought us, at length, to the head of a small river,[4] which falls into Lake Nipisingue. We had now passed the country, of which the streams fall north-eastward, into the Outaouais, and entered

[3] Muddy, swampy—the portage, about four miles in length, crosses the township of Ferris diagonally.

[4] Le Revière de Vase—it is about one and a half miles from where the portage ceases, to Lake Nipissing.

that from which they flow, in a contrary direction, toward Lake Huron. On one side of the *height of land*, which is the reciprocal boundary of these regions, we had left Lake aux Tourtres and the river Matawa; and before us, on the other, was Lake Nipisingue. The banks of the little river, by which we descended into the lake, and more especially as we approached the lake, were of an exceedingly delightful appearance, covered with high grass, and affording an extensive prospect. Both the lake and river abound in black bass, sturgeon, pike and other fish. Among the pike, is to be included the species, called, by the Indians, *masquinonge*.[5] In two hours, with the assistance of an Indian, we took as much fish as all the party could eat.

Lake Nipisingue is distant two hundred leagues from Montréal. Its circumference is said to measure one hundred and fifty miles, and its depth is sufficient for vessels of any burden. On our voyage, along its eastern banks, we met some canoes of Indians, who said they lived on the north-western side. My men informed me that they were Nipisingues,[6] a name which they derive from the lake. Their language is a dialect of the

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[5] *Esox nobilior*, or maskinonge, maskalonge, mascalonge, muskalonge, muskalunge. Ojibway : maskenozha, great pickerel, or pike.

[6] First visited by Champlain in 1613, by whom they were called the Nebecerini. They belong to the Algonquin family and are said by Charlevoix to alone preserve the original type of that race and language. Their present reserve of 64,000 acres, is situated on the north shore of Lake Nipissing. They numbered, in 1897, 200 men, women and children.

Algonquin; and, by nation, they are a mixture of Chipeways and Maskegons. They had a large quantity of furs, part of which I purchased. The animals, which the country affords them, are the beaver, marten, bear and *o'tic, a'tic,* or *caribou,* a species of deer, by some called the *rein-deer.* They wished for rum, but I avoided selling or giving them any.

Leaving the Indians, we proceeded to the mouth of the lake, at which is the carrying-place of La Chaudière Française,* a name, part of which it has obtained from the holes, in the rock over which we passed; and which holes, being of the kind which is known to be formed by water, with the assistance of pebbles, demonstrate that it has not always been dry, as at present it is;[7] but the phenomenon is not peculiar to this spot, the same being observable, at almost every carrying-place on the Outaouais. At the height of a hundred feet above the river, I commonly found pebbles, worn into a round form, like those upon the beach below. Everywhere, the water appears to have subsided from its ancient levels; and imagination may anticipate an era, at which even the banks of Newfoundland will be left bare.

* Or, *la Chaudière des Français.*

[7] Geologists have, of late years, decided that at one period in the history of the great lakes, the waters which then stood at a higher level, escaped by the French river, Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa river, instead of passing over the falls of Niagara, descending by the same route by which Henry ascended. Pot holes in the gneissoid rocks on the border of Lake Huron and the rivers mentioned are of frequent occurrence. The contraction of the great lakes has left them far above high water mark.

The southern shores of Lake Nipisingue are rocky, and only thinly covered with pine-trees and spruce, both, as in several instances already mentioned, of a small stature. The carrying-place of La Chaudière Française is at the head of the river Des Français, and where the water first descends from the level of Lake Nipisingue toward that of Lake Huron. This it does not reach till it has passed down many rapids, full of danger to the canoes and the men, after which it enters Lake Huron by several arms, flowing through each, as through a mill-race. The river Des Français is twenty leagues in length,[8] and has many islands in its channel. Its banks are uniformly of rock. Among the carrying-places, at which we successively arrived, are the Portage des Pins, or, du Pin; de la Grande Faucille; * de la Petite Faucille; and du Sault du Recolet,†[9] Near the mouth of the river, a meadow, called La Prairie des Français, varies, for a short space, the rocky surface, which so generally prevails; and, on this spot, we encamped, and repaired our canoes. The carrying-places were now all passed, and what remained

* *Faucille*, Fr. a sickle.

† So called, perhaps, on account of the resemblance of this *Sault* to that of the Sault du Recolet, between the islands of Montreal and Jesus, and which has its name from the death of a Recolet or Franciscan friar, who was there drowned.

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[8] The French river is fifty-five miles long.

[9] Mackenzie says the portages on the branch of the river usually chosen are Le Chaudiere des Francois, 544 paces; des Pins, 52 paces; Feausille, 36 paces; Parisienne, 100 paces; Recolet 45 paces; Petite Feausille, 25 paces.

was, to cross the billows of Lake Huron, which lay stretched across our horizon, like an ocean.

On the thirty-first day of August, we entered the lake, the waves running high, from the south, and breaking over numerous rocks. At first, I thought the prospect alarming; but the canoes rode on the water with the ease of a sea-bird, and my apprehensions ceased. We passed Point de Grondines,[10] so called, from the perpetual noise of the water among the rocks. Many of these rocks are sunken, and not without danger, when the wind, as at this time it was, is from the south.

We coasted along many small islands, or rather rocks, of more or less extent, either wholly bare, or very scantily covered with scrub pine-trees. All the land to the northward is of the same description, as high as Cha'ba'bou'an'ing',[11] where verdure reappears.

On the following day, we reached an island, called La Cloche, because there is here a rock, standing on a plain, which, being struck, rings like a bell.[12]

[10] A marked promentory, jutting out from the Indian reserve No. 3, township of Humboldt.

[11] Shebawenahning, the name of the village now known as Killarney. The *Rev. Peter Jacobs* (*Journals p. 385*) spells it Shebahoonahning.

[12] "The island of La Cloche is high, compact in shape, and of considerable size. It is so called from some of its rocks ringing like a bell on being struck. This particularly applies to one loose basaltic mass lying on the shore, fifteen miles below the little Sagamuc, and about three yards square."—*Bigsby*, "*The Shoe and Canoe*," Vol. 2, page 105.

I found the island inhabited by a large village of Indians, whose behaviour was at first full of civility and kindness. I bartered away some small articles among them, in exchange for fish and dried meat; and we remained upon friendly terms, till, discovering that I was an Englishman, they told my men, that the Indians, at Michilimackinac, would not fail to kill me, and that, therefore, they had a right to a share of the pillage. Upon this principle, as they said, they demanded a keg of rum, adding, that if not given them, they would proceed to take it. I judged it prudent to comply; on condition, however, that I should experience, at this place, no further molestation.

The condition was not unfaithfully observed; but the repeated warnings which I had now received, of sure destruction at Michilimackinac, could not but oppress my mind. I could not even yield myself, without danger, to the course suggested by my fears; for my provisions were nearly exhausted, and to return, was, therefore, almost impracticable.

The hostility of the Indians was exclusively against the English. Between them, and my Canadian attendants, there appeared the most cordial good will. This circumstance suggested one means of escape, of which, by the advice of my friend, Campion, I resolved to attempt availing myself; and which was, that of putting on the dress, usually worn by such of the Canadians as pursue the trade into which I had entered, and assimilating myself, as much as I was able, to their appearance and manners. To this end, I laid aside my English clothes, and covered myself only with a cloth,

passed about the middle; a shirt, hanging loose; a molton, or blanket coat; and a large, red, milled worsted cap. The next thing was to smear my face and hands with dirt, and grease; and, this done, I took the place of one of my men, and, when Indians approached, used the paddle, with as much skill as I possessed. I had the satisfaction to find, that my disguise enabled me to pass several canoes, without attracting the smallest notice.

In this manner, I pursued my voyage to the mouth, or rather mouths, of the Missisaki,[13] a river which descends from the north, and of which the name imports, that it has several mouths, or outlets. From this river, all the Indians, inhabiting the north side of Lake Huron, are called Missisakies.[14] There is here a plentiful

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[13] Mississagua, Missisagui, Massassaga river is reported by Sir William Logan to be about 120 miles long and has two entrances, one on each side of a marshy tongue of land 1400 yards across. The eastern entrance is 120 yards broad.

[14] "The Mississaga Indians as early as the year 1648, are described as dwelling around the river 'Mississague' * * * During the early years of the eighteenth century they advanced gradually eastward and southward, taking possession of much of what is now the Province of Ontario, not, however, without many a fierce and bloody fight with their hereditary foes, the savage Iroquois. Their chief settlements in Ontario were on the banks of the River Credit, near Toronto, and on the Islands and shores of the Bay of Quinte."—*Chamberlain*, "*Language of the Mississaga Indians*," p. 7. They belonged to the great Algonquin family and called themselves "Mississagas of the Ojibway nation." They are now settled on reserves at Alnwick, New Credit, Rice Lake, Mud Lake and Scugog, and numbered in 1898, 755 men, women and children.

sturgeon-fisherv, by which those, that resort to it, are fed during the summer months. On our voyage, we met several Missisakies, of whom we bought fish, and from whose stock we might easily have filled all our canoes.

From the Missisaki, which is on the north shore of Lake Huron, to Michilimackinac, which is on the south, is reckoned thirty leagues.[15] The lake, which here approaches Lake Superior, is now contracted in its breadth, as well as filled with islands. From the mouth of the river Des Francais, to the Missisaki, is reckoned fifty leagues,[16] with many islands along the route. The lands everywhere, from the island of La Cloche, are poor; with the exception of those of the island of Manitoualin, a hundred miles in length,* where they are generally good. On all the islands, the Indians cultivate small quantities of maize.

* The *Isle Manitoualin* was formerly so described. It is now known, that there is no island in Lake Huron, of a hundred miles in length, and that the *Manitoualin* are a chain of islands. The French writers on Canada, speak of the Isle Manitoualin, as inhabited, in their time, by the Amikoues (Amicways, Amicwac), whom they called a family (and sometimes a nation), deriving its origin from the Great Beaver, a personage of mythological importance. The name *Manitoualin*, implies the residence of *Manitoes*, or genii, a distinction very commonly attributed to the islands, and sometimes to the shores, of Lakes Huron and Superior, and of which, further examples will present themselves, in the course of these pages.

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[15] The distance is about eighty-eight miles.

[16] By taking the most direct course the distance is about 110 miles.

From the Missisaki, we proceeded to the O'tossalon*[17] and thence across the lake, making one island after another, at intervals of from two to three leagues. The lake, as far as it could be seen, tended to the westward, and became less and less broad.

The first land, which we made, on the south shore, was that called Point du Détour, after which, we passed the island called Isle aux Outardes, and then, leaving on the right, the deep bay of Boutchitaouy came to the island of Michilimackinac, distant, from Isle aux Outardes,[18] three leagues. On our way, a sudden squall reduced us to the point of throwing over the cargoes of our canoes, to save the latter from filling; but the wind subsided, and we reached the island in safety.

The land, in the centre of this island, is high, and its form somewhat resembles that of a turtle's back. Mackinac, or Mickinac, signifies a *turtle*, and *michi* (*mishi*), or *missi*, signifies *great*, as it does also *several*, or *many*. The common interpretation, of the word

* Also written *Tessalon*, *Thessalon*, and *des Tessalons*.

[17] The Thessalon river falls into Lake Huron about twenty-six miles to the west of the Mississagua river.

[18] Point du Detour is the well-known cape which forms the western extremity of the northern Michigan peninsula, called, from its importance, the *Grand Détour*. On the eastern side of the channel is Drummond Island, which was originally known as L'Isle du Détour. Boutchitaouy Bay is the deep indentation opposite Mackinac, on the north. The Isle aux Outardes has been degraded into Goose Island.

Michilimackinac is the Great Turtle. It is from this island, that the fort, commonly known by the name of Michilimackinac, has obtained its appellation.

On the island, as I had been previously taught to expect, there was a village of Chipeways, said to contain a hundred warriors. Here, I was fearful of discovery and consequent ill-treatment; but after inquiring the news, and, particularly, whether or not any Englishman was coming to Michilimackinac, they suffered us to pass, uninjured. One man, indeed, looked at me, laughed, and pointed me out to another. This was enough to give me some uneasiness; but, whatever was the singularity he perceived in me, both he and his friend retired, without suspecting me to be an Englishman.

CHAPTER IV.

Fort Michilimackinac. Chipeways, of the Island of Michilimackinac—their appearance—demeanour —and treatment of the Author. Otawas, of the village of L'Arbre Croche—their condition—their treatment of the Author and others. Arrival of a British garrison.

LEAVING, as speedily as possible, the island of Michilimackinac, I crossed the strait, and landed at the fort, of the same name. The distance, from the island, is about two leagues. I landed, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Here, I put the entire charge of my effects into the hands of my assistant, Campion, between whom and myself it had been previously agreed, that he should pass for the proprietor; and my men were instructed to conceal the fact, that I was an Englishman.

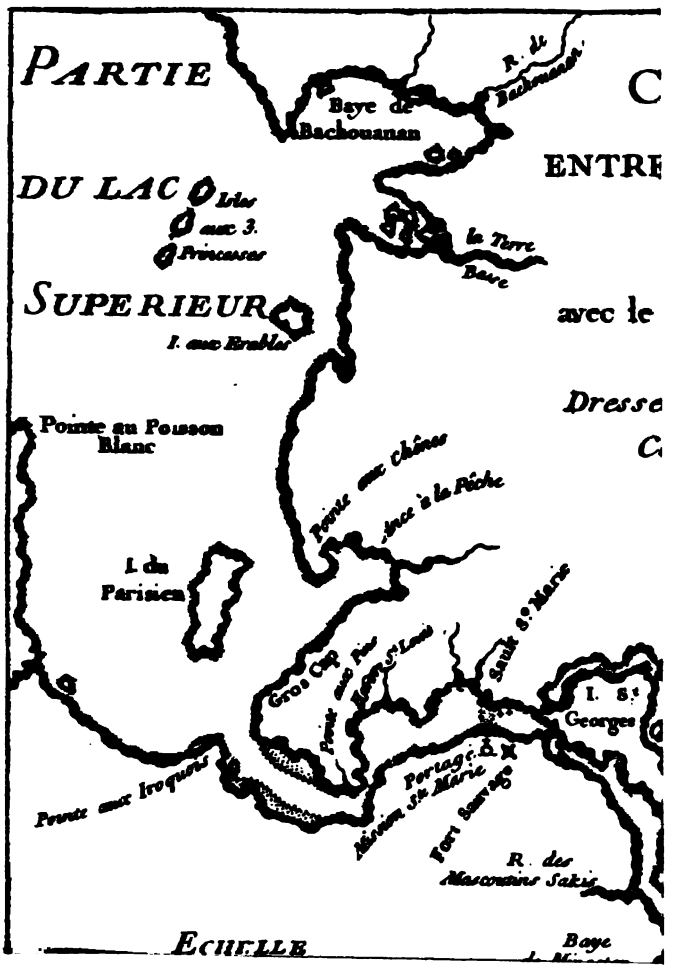
Campion, soon found a house, to which I retired, and where I hoped to remain in privacy; but the men soon betrayed my secret, and I was visited by the inhabitants, with great show of civility. They assured me, that I could not stay at Michilimackinac without the most imminent risk; and strongly recommended, that I should lose no time, in making my escape, to Détroit.

Though language, like this, could not but increase my uneasiness, it did not shake my determination, to remain with my property, and encounter the evils with which I was threatened; and my spirits were in some measure sustained by the sentiments of Campion, in this regard; for he declared his belief, that the Canadian inhabitants of the fort were more hostile than the Indians, as being jealous of English traders, who, like myself, were penetrating into the country.

Fort Michilimackinac was built by order of the governor-general of Canada,[1] and garrisoned with a small number of militia, who, having families, soon became less soldiers than settlers. Most of those, whom I found in the fort, had originally served in the French army.

The fort stands on the south side of the strait which is between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. It has an area of two acres and is enclosed with pickets

[1] The original French fort of Michilimackinac was established by Pére Marquette as a mission station at Point St. Ignace, on the north side of the straits. Here it remained until 1706 when it was deserted. In 1712, Vaudreuil, the governor-general, sent DeLouvigny to re-establish the fort, which he did, removing it, however, to the south side of the straits at the place now known as "Old Mackinaw." This was the fort which was taken possession of by the British in 1764 and remained in their occupation until 1781. A new fort, more easily defensible, was then erected on Michilimackinac island, about eight miles distant and the old fort of Henry's day was allowed to fall into decay. An interesting view of the ruins will be found in *Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, vol. 1, p. 243.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avec la Pêche
I. du Parisien
Gros Cap
Pointe aux Pins
Riviere St Louis
Sault S.t Marie
I. S.t Georges
Portage
Riviere Ste Marie
Fort Sault
Pointe aux Iroquois
R. des Mascoutins Sakis
ECHELLE
Baye

of cedar-wood ;* and it is so near the water's edge, that, when the wind is in the west, the waves break against the stockade. On the bastions, are two small pieces of brass English cannon, taken some years since, by a party of Canadians, who went on a plundering expedition,[2] against the posts of Hudson's Bay which they reached by the route of the river Churchill.

Within the stockade, are thirty houses, neat in their appearance, and tolerably commodious; and a church, in which mass is celebrated, by a jesuit missionary. The number of families may be nearly equal to that of the houses; and their subsistence is derived from the Indian traders, who assemble here, in their voyages to and from Montréal. Michilimackinac is the place of deposit, and point of departure, between the upper countries and the lower. Here, the outfits are prepared for the countries of Lake Michigan and the Missisipi, Lake Superior and the north-west; and here, the returns, in furs, are collected, and embarked for Montréal.

I was not released from the visits and admonitions of the inhabitants of the fort, before I received the equivocal intelligence, that the whole band of Chipeways, from the island of Michilimackinac, was arrived, with the intention of paying me a visit.

*Thuya occidentalis.

[2] This was evidently part of the plunder taken by the party under the command of De Troyes and Iberville which captured Forts Albany and Hayes in 1686.

There was, in the fort, one Farley, an interpreter, lately in the employ of the French commandant. He had married a Chipeway woman, and was said to possess great influence over the nation to which his wife belonged. Doubtful, as to the kind of visit which I was about to receive, I sent for this interpreter, and requested, first, that he would have the kindness to be present at the interview, and, secondly, that he would inform me of the intentions of the band. M. Farley agreed to be present; and, as to the object of the visit, replied, that it was consistent with uniform custom, that a stranger, on his arrival, should be waited upon, and welcomed, by the chiefs of the nation, who, on their part, always gave a small present, and always expected a large one; but, as to the rest, declared himself unable to answer for the particular views of the Chipeways, on this occasion, I being an Englishman, and the Indians having made no treaty with the English. He thought that there might be danger, the Indians having protested that they would not suffer an Englishman to remain in their part of the country.—This information was far from agreeable; but there was no resource, except in fortitude and patience.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the Chipeways came to my house, about sixty in number, and headed by Mina'va'va'na', their chief. They walked in single file, each with his tomahawk in one hand, and scalping-knife in the other. Their bodies were naked, from the waist upward; except in a few examples, where blankets were thrown loosely over the shoulders. Their faces were painted with charcoal, worked up with grease; their bodies, with white clay, in patterns of various

fancies. Some had feathers thrust through their noses, and their heads decorated with the same.—It is unnecessary to dwell on the sensations with which I beheld the approach of this uncouth, if not frightful assemblage.

The chief entered first; and the rest followed, without noise. On receiving a sign from the former, the latter seated themselves on the floor.

Minavavana appeared to be about fifty years of age. He was six feet in height, and had, in his countenance, an indescribable mixture of good and evil.—Looking steadfastly at me, where I sat in ceremony, with an interpreter on either hand, and several Canadians behind me, he entered at the same time into conversation with Campion, inquiring how long it was since I left Montréal, and observing, that the English, as it would seem, were brave men, and not afraid of death, since they dared to come, as I had done, fearlessly among their enemies.

The Indians now gravely smoked their pipes, while I inwardly endured the tortures of suspense.—At length, the pipes being finished, as well as a long pause, by which they were succeeded, Minavavana, taking a few strings of wampum in his hand, began the following speech:

"Englishman, it is to you that I speak, and I de-
"mand your attention!

"Englishman, you know that the French king is our
"father. He promised to be such; and we, in return,

" promised to be his children.—This promise we have " kept.

" Englishman, it is you that have made war with this " our father. You are his enemy; and how, then, could " you have the boldness to venture among us, his " children?—You know that his enemies are ours.

" Englishman, we are informed, that our father, the " king of France, is old and infirm; and that being " fatigued, with making war upon your nation, he is " fallen asleep. During his sleep, you have taken " advantage of him, and possessed yourselves of " Canada. But, his nap is almost at an end. I think I " hear him already stirring, and enquiring for his " children, the Indians:—and, when he does awake, " what must become of you! He will destroy you " utterly!

" Englishman, although you have conquered the " French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not " your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, " were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inherit- " ance; and we will part with them to none. Your " nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot " live without bread—and pork—and beef! But, you " ought to know, that He, the Great Spirit and Master " of Life, has provided food for us, in these spacious " lakes, and on these woody mountains.

" Englishman, our father, the king of France, em- " ployed our young men to make war upon your nation. " In this warfare, many of them have been killed; and " it is our custom to retaliate, until such time as the

" spirits of the slain are satisfied. But, the spirits of the " slain are to be satisfied in either of two ways; the first " is by the spilling of the blood of the nation by which " they fell; the other, by *covering the bodies of the* " *dead*, and thus allaying the resentment of their rela- " tions. This is done by making presents.

" Englishman, your king has never sent us any " presents, nor entered into any treaty with us, where- " fore he and we are still at war; and, until he does " these things, we must consider that we have no other " father, nor friend, among the white men, than the " king of France; but, for you, we have taken into con- " sideration, that you have ventured your life among us, " in the expectation that we should not molest you. " You do not come armed, with an intention to make " war; you come in peace, to trade with us, and supply " us with necessaries, of which we are in much want. " We shall regard you, therefore, as a brother; and you " may sleep tranquilly, without fear of the Chipeways. " —As a token of our friendship, we present you with " this pipe, to smoke."

As Minavavana uttered these words, an Indian presented me with a pipe, which, after I had drawn the smoke three times, was carried to the chief, and after him to every person in the room. This ceremony ended, the chief arose, and gave me his hand, in which he was followed by all the rest.

Being again seated, Minavavana requested that his young men might be allowed to taste what he called my *English milk* (meaning *rum*)—observing, that it was

long since they had tasted any, and that they were very desirous to know, whether or not there were any difference between the English milk and the French.

My adventure, on leaving Fort William-Augustus,[3] had left an impression on my mind, which made me tremble when Indians asked for rum; and I would therefore willingly have excused myself in this particular; but, being informed that it was customary to comply with the request, and withal satisfied with the friendly declarations which I had received, I promised to give them a small cask, at parting.

After this, by the aid of my interpreter, I made a reply to the speech of Minavavana,[4] declaring that it

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[3] Fort de Levis, the capture of which was narrated by Henry in his first chapter, was re-named by the British, Fort William-Augustus.

[4] He is thus described by Carver in 1767: "At some little distance behind these stood a chief, remarkably tall and well made, but of so stern an aspect that the most undaunted person could not behold him without feeling some degree of terror. He seemed to have passed the meridian of life, and by the mode in which he was painted and tatowed, I discovered that he was of high rank. However, I approached him in a courteous manner and expected to have met the same reception I had done from the others, but, to my great surprise, he with-held his hand, and looking fiercely at me, said in the Chipéway tongue, "Cawin nishishin saganosh," that is, "The English are no good." As he had his tomahawk in his hand, I expected that this laconic sentence would have been followed by a blow; to prevent which I drew a pistol from my belt, and, holding it in a careless position, passed close to him, to let him see I was

was the good character, which I had heard of the Indians, that had alone emboldened me to come among them; that their late father, the king of France, had surrendered Canada to the king of England, whom they ought now to regard as their father, and who would be as careful of them as the other had been; that I had come to furnish them with necessaries, and that their good treatment of me would be an encouragement to others.—They appeared satisfied with what I said, repeating *eh!* (an expression of approbation) after hearing each particular. I had prepared a present, which I now gave them, with the utmost good will. At their departure, I distributed a small quantity of rum.

Relieved, as I now imagined myself, from all occasion of anxiety, as to the treatment which I was to experience, from the Indians, I assorted my goods, and hired Canadian interpreters and clerks, in whose care I was to send them into Lake Michigan, and the river

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not afraid of him. I learned soon after from the other Indians, that this was a chief, called by the French the Grand Sautor, or the Great Chipeway Chief, for they denominate the Chipéways, Sautors. They likewise told me that he had been always a steady friend to that people, and when they delivered up Michilimackinac to the English, on their evacuation of Canada, the Grand Sautor had sworn that he would ever remain the avowed enemy of its new possessors, as the territories on which the fort is built belonged to him. * * * Since I came to England, I have been informed that the Grand Sautor having rendered himself more and more disgustful to the English by his inveterate enmity towards them, was at length stabbed in his tent as he encamped near Michilimackinac, by a trader."—"*Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America,*" *by J. Carver*, p. 96, London. 1781.

Saint-Pièrre, in the country of the Nadowessies,[5] into Lake Superior, among the Chipeways, and to the Grand Portage, for the north-west.[6] Everything was ready for their departure, when new dangers sprung up, and threatened to overwhelm me.

At the entrance of Lake Michigan, and at about twenty miles to the west of Fort Michilimackinac, is the village of L'Arbre Croche, inhabited by a band of Otawas, boasting of two hundred and fifty fighting men. L'Arbre Croche[7] is the seat of the Jesuit mission of Saint Ignace de Michilimackinac, and the people are partly baptized, and partly not. The missionary resides on a farm, attached to the mission, and situated between the village and the fort, both of which are under his care.

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[5] Dakota or Sioux Indians—the latter name is said by Trumbull to be an abbreviation of Nadowessioux, which is a corruption of Nadowe-ssi-way, "the snake-like ones." They have always been war-like tribes, hostile to both whites and other Indians.

[6] Henry here gives some idea of the extent of country over which the Canadian fur traders carried on their operations. His employees were to travel through the countries of the Menomonies, Winnebagos, Saukies, Ottigaumies, until they reached the Mississippi in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, where they were to cross into the country of the Sioux. Another party had for its district the southern side of Lake Superior and a third among the nations between the west end of Lake Superior and the Saskatchewan.

[7] After the death of Marquette, and the desertion by the traders of the mission station of St. Ignace, on the north side of the straits, the mission was removed to the Ottawa village of L'Arbre Croche.

The Otawas of L'Arbre Croche, who, when compared with the Chipeways, appear to be much advanced in civilization, grow maize, for the market of Michilimackinac, where this commodity is depended upon, for provisioning the canoes.

The new dangers, which presented themselves, came from this village of Otawas. Every thing, as I have said, was in readiness, for the departure of my goods, when accounts arrived of its approach; and shortly after two hundred warriors entered the fort, and billeted themselves in the several houses, among the Canadian inhabitants. The next morning, they assembled in the house which was built for the commandant, or governor, and ordered the attendance of myself, and of two other merchants, still later from Montréal, namely, Messrs. Stanley Goddard and Ezekiel Solomons.

After our entering the council-room, and taking our seats, one of the chiefs commenced an address: "Englishmen," said he, "we, the Otawas, were some "time since informed of your arrival in this country, "and of your having brought with you the goods of "which we have need. At this news, we were greatly "pleased, believing that through your assistance, our "wives and children would be enabled to pass another "winter; but, what was our surprise, when, a few days "ago, we were again informed, that the goods which, "as we had expected, were intended for us were, on the "eve of departure, for distant countries, of which some "are inhabited by our enemies! These accounts being "spread, our wives and children came to us, crying, and "desiring that we should go to the fort, to learn, with

" our own ears, their truth or falsehood. We according-
" ly embarked, almost naked, as you see; and on our
" arrival here, we have inquired into the accounts, and
" found them true. We see your canoes ready to de-
" part, and find your men engaged for the Missisipi, and
" other distant regions.

" Under these circumstances, we have considered the
" affair; and you are now sent for, that you may hear
" our determination, which is, that you shall give to our
" men, young and old, merchandize and ammunition, to
" the amount of fifty beaver-skins, on credit, and for
" which I have no doubt of their paying you in the sum-
" mer, on their return from their wintering."

A compliance with this demand would have stripped me and my fellow-merchants of all our merchandize; and, what rendered the affair still more serious, we even learned that these Otawas were never accustomed to pay for what they received on credit. In reply, therefore, to the speech which we had heard, we requested that the demand contained in it might be diminished; but we were answered, that the Otawas had nothing further to say, except that they would allow till the next day for reflection; after which, if compliance was not given, they would make no further application, but take into their own hands the property, which they already regarded as their own, as having been brought into their country, before the conclusion of any peace, between themselves and the English.

We now returned, to consider of our situation; and, in the evening, Farley, the interpreter, paid us a visit,

and assured us that it was the intention of the Otawas to put us, that night, to death. He advised us, as our only means of safety, to comply with the demands which had been made; but, we suspected our informant of a disposition to prey upon our fears, with a view to induce us to abandon the Indian trade, and resolved, however this might be, rather to stand on the defensive, than submit. We trusted to the house, in which I lived, as a fort; and armed ourselves, and about thirty of our men, with muskets. Whether or not the Otawas ever intended violence, we never had an opportunity of knowing; but the night passed quietly.

Early the next morning, a second council was held, and the merchants were again summoned to attend. Believing that every hope of resistance would be lost, should we commit our persons into the hands of our enemies, we sent only a refusal. There was none without, in whom we had any confidence, except Campion. From him we learned, from time to time, whatever was rumoured among the Canadian inhabitants, as to the designs of the Otawas; and, from him, toward sunset, we received the gratifying intelligence, that a detachment of British soldiery, sent to garrison Michilimackinac, was distant only five miles, and would enter the fort early the next morning.

Near at hand, however, as relief was reported to be, our anxietv could not but be great; for a long night was to be passed, and our fate might be decided before the morning. To increase our apprehensions, about midnight we were informed, that the

Otawas were holding a council, at which no white man was permitted to be present, Farley alone excepted; and him we suspected, and afterward positively knew, to be our greatest enemy. We, on our part, remained all night upon the alert; but, at day-break, to our surprize and joy, we saw the Otawas preparing to depart. By sunrise, not a man of them was left in the fort; and, indeed, the scene was altogether changed. The inhabitants, who, while the Otawas were present, had avoided all connection with the English traders, now came with congratulations. They related, that the Otawas had proposed to them, that if joined by the Canadians, they would march, and attack the troops which were known to be advancing on the fort; and they added, that it was their refusal which had determined the Otawas to depart.

At noon, three hundred troops, of the sixtieth regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Lesslie,[8] marched into the fort; and this arrival dissipated all our fears, from whatever source derived. After a few days, detachments were sent into the Bay des Puans,[9]

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[8] The name is properly Leslie, but spelt indifferently, Lesslie and Lesley. The 60th, or Royal American Regiment, was raised in 1757, for frontier service, principally from among the German and English immigrants in New York and Pennsylvania.

[9] Green Bay, Lake Michigan. "The Baye des Puants of the early writers, or more correctly, La Baye des Eaux Puantes. The Winnebago Indians living near it were called Les Puans, apparently for no other reason than because some portion of the bay was said to have an odour like the sea." — *Parkman, La Salle*, p. 42.

by which is the route to the Missisipi, and at the mouth of the Saint-Joseph, which leads to the Illinois. The Indians, from all quarters, came to pay their respects to the commandant; and the merchants dispatched their canoes, though it was now the middle of September, and therefore somewhat late in the season.

CHAPTER V.

Of the particular mode of victualling the canoes, at Michilimackinac—and its importance to the trade in furs. Winter amusements at Michilimackinac —hunting — fishing — trout-fishing. Exorbitant price of grain and beef. Furs the circulating medium—their nominal value. White-fish—and mode of taking it. Anecdote of a Chipeway Chief. Depth of Snow—return of Spring.

THE village of L'Arbre Croche supplies, as I have said, the maize, or *Indian corn*, with which the canoes are victualled. This species of grain is prepared for use, by boiling it in a strong lie, after which the husk may be easily removed; and it is next mashed and dried. In this state, it is soft and friable, like rice. The allowance, for each man, on the voyage, is a quart a day; and a bushel, with two pounds of prepared fat, is reckoned to be a month's subsistence. No other allowance is made, of any kind; not even of salt; and bread is never thought of. The men, nevertheless, are healthy, and capable of performing their heavy labour. This mode of victualling is essential to the trade, which being pursued at great distances, and in vessels so small as canoes, will not admit of the use of other food. If the men were to be supplied with bread and pork, the canoes could not carry a sufficiency for six months; and the ordinary duration of the voyage is not less than

fourteen. The difficulty, which would belong to an attempt to reconcile any other men, than Canadians, to this fare, seems to secure to them, and their employers, the monopoly of the fur-trade.

The sociable disposition of the commandant enabled us to pass the winter, at Michilimackinac, in a manner as agreeable as circumstances would permit. The amusements consisted chiefly in shooting, hunting and fishing. The neighbouring woods abounded in *partridges* * and hares, the latter of which is white in winter; and the lake is filled with fish, of which the most celebrated are trout, white-fish and sturgeon.[1]

Trout are taken by making holes in the ice, in which are set lines and baits. These are often left for many days together, and in some places at the depth of fifty fathoms; for, the trout having swallowed the bait, remains fast, and alive, till taken up. This fish, which is found of the weight of from ten to sixty pounds, and upward, constitutes the principal food of the inhabitants. When this fails, they have recourse to maize, but this is very expensive. I bought more than a hundred bushels, at forty livres per bushel. Money is rarely received or paid at Michilimackinac, the circulating medium consisting in furs and peltries. In this exchange, a pound of beaver-skin is reckoned at sixty

* In North-America there is no *partridge;* but the name is given to more than one species of grouse. The birds here intended, are red grouse.

[1] *Salvelinus namaycush, Coregonus clupeiformis and Acipenser rubicundus.*

sols; an otter-skin, at six livres; and marten-skins, at thirty sols, each.[2] This is only one half of the real value of the furs; and it is therefore always agreed, to pay either in furs at their actual price at the fort, or in cash, to double the amount, as reckoned in furs.

At the same time that I paid the price, which I have mentioned, for maize, I paid at the rate of a dollar per pound for the tallow, or prepared fat, to mix with it. The meat itself was at the same price. The jesuit missionary killed an ox, which he sold by the quarter, taking the weight of the meat in beaver-skin. Beaver-skin, as just intimated, was worth a dollar per pound.

These high prices of grain and beef led me to be very industrious in fishing. I usually set twenty lines, and visited them daily, and often found, at every visit, fish enough to feed a hundred men. White-fish, which exceed the trout, as a delicious and nutritive food, are here in astonishing numbers. In shape, they somewhat resemble the shad; but their flavour is perhaps above all comparison whatever. Those, who live on them for months together, preserve their relish to the end. This cannot be said of the trout.

The white-fish is taken in nets, which are set under the ice. To do this, several holes are made in the ice, each at such distance from that behind it, as that it

[2] After the conquest the value of the livre was fixed at the equivalent of a shilling, Canadian currency, while the English shilling was rated at one and four-pence. Twenty-four sols were equal to one shilling and a penny sterling, or about one cent each.

may, be reached, under the ice, by the end of a pole. A line, of sixty fathoms in length, is thus conveyed from hole to hole, till it is extended to the length desired. This done, the pole is taken out, and with it one end of the line, to which the end is then fastened. The line being now drawn back, by an assistant, who holds the opposite extremity, the net is brought under, and a large stone is made fast to the sinking-line, at each end, and let down to the bottom; and the net is spread in the water, by lighters on its upper edge, sinkers on its lower, in the usual manner. The fish, running against the net, entangle their gills in the meshes, and are thus detained till taken up. White-fish is used as a bait for trout. They are much smaller than the trout, but usually weigh, at Michilimackinac, from three to seven pounds.

During the whole winter, very few Indians visited the fort; but, two families, one of which was that of a chief, had their lodges on a river, five leagues below us, and occasionally brought beaver-flesh for sale.

The chief was warmlv attached to the English. He had been taken prisoner by Sir William Johnson, at the siege of Fort Niagara; and had received, from that intelligent officer, his liberty, the medal usually presented to a chief, and the British flag. Won, by these unexpected acts of kindness, he had returned to Michilimackinac, full of praises of the English, and hoisting his flag over his lodge. This latter demonstration of his partiality had nearly cost him his life; his lodge was broken down, and his flag torn to pieces. The pieces he carefully gathered up, and preserved with pious care;

and, whenever he came to the fort, he drew them forth, and exhibited them. On these occasions, it grew into a custom, to give him as much liquor as he said was necessary to make him cry, over the misfortune of losing his flag. The commandant would have given him another; but he thought that he could not accept it without danger.

The greatest depth of snow, throughout the season, was three feet. On the second day of April, the ice on the lake broke up, and the navigation was resumed; and we immediately began to receive, from the Indians around us, large supplies of wild-fowl.

CHAPTER VI.

Voyage from Michilimackinac to the Sault de Sainte-Marie. Description of the Fort. White-fish—singular method of taking them. Village of Chipeways. O'pimittish Ininiwac, Wood-Indians, or Gens de Terres—their condition—mode of life—food and clothing. Summer. The Fort receives a Garrison from Michilimackinac.

BEING desirous of visiting the Sault de Sainte-Marie, I left Michilimackinac on the 15th of May, in a canoe. The Sault de Sainte-Marie is distant from Michilimackinac thirty leagues,[1] and lies in the strait which separates Lake Huron from Lake Superior.

Having passed Le Detour, a point of land at the entrance of the strait, our course lay among numerous islands, some of which are twenty miles in length. We ascended the *rapid* of Miscoutinsaki,[2] a spot well adapted for mill-seats, and above which is the mouth of the river of the same name. The lands, on the south shore of this river, are excellent. The lake is bordered by meadows, and, at a short distance back, are groves of sugar-maple. From this river, to the Sault de Sainte-Marie, is one continued meadow.

On the 19th, I reached the Sault. Here was a

[1] The distance is stated to be about ninety-four miles.

[2] Now known as the Lower or Niblish rapids.

stockaded fort[3] in which, under the French government, there was kept a small garrison, commanded by an officer, who was called *the governor*, but was in fact a clerk, who managed the Indian trade here, on government account. The houses were four in number; of which the first was the governor's, the second the inter-

[3] Sault Ste. Marie, formerly known as Bow-e-ting, had for many years been occupied by a division of the Ojibwa or Chipeways. It was first visited by French fur traders who named the Indians, Saulteaux, from the "Falls" in the St. Mary's river. A Mission was established, in 1669, under Marquette, who writes *(Relation, 1668-9)*: "that the harvest is abundant and that it only rests with the missionaries to baptize the entire population to the number of two thousand." St. Lusson held a council with the northern Indians here in 1671. The war with the Iroquois led to the abandonment of the Mission in 1689. In 1750 the Marquis de la Jonquiére, Governor of Canada, granted to his nephew, Captain De Bonne, and Chevalier de Repentigny, six leagues square for the erection of a fort. Writing to Rouillé, Minister of Marine, Jonquiére says: "By my letter of the 24th of August, last year, I had the honour to let you know, that in order to thwart the movements, which the English do not cease to make, to seduce the Indian natives of the North, I had sent the Sieur Chevalier de Repentigny to the Sault Ste. Marie to make there an establishment, at his own expense; to build there a palisade fort, to stop the English; to interrupt the commerce they carry on. . . . Moreover I had in view in that establishment to secure a retreat for the French travellers, especially to those who trade in the Northern posts . . . The said Sieur de Repentigny has fulfilled in all points the first objects of my orders." *Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 5, p. 434. The palisade was 110 feet each way and enclosed one house thirty by twenty feet, two houses twenty-five by twenty feet, and redoubt of oak twelve feet square. J. B. Cadotte was placed in charge, and was there when Carver visited it in October, 1767.

preter's, and the other two, which were the smallest, had been used for barracks. The only family was that of M. Cadotte, the interpreter, whose wife was a Chipeway.

The fort is seated on a beautiful plain, of about two miles in circumference, and covered with luxuriant grass; and, within sight, are the *rapids* in the strait, distant half a mile. The width of the strait, or river, is about half a mile. The *portage*, or carrying-place, commences at the fort. The banks are rocky, and allow only a narrow foot-path over them. Canoes, half loaded, ascend, on the south side, and the other half of the load is carried on men's shoulders.

These *rapids* are beset with rocks of the most dangerous description; and yet they are the scene of a fishery, in which all their dangers are braved, and mastered with singular expertness. They are full of white-fish, much larger and more excellent than those of Michilimackinac, and which are found here during the greater part of the season, weighing, in general, from six pounds to fifteen.

The method of taking them is this: each canoe carries two men, one of whom steers with a paddle, and the other is provided with a pole, ten feet in length, and at the end of which is affixed a scoop-net. The steersman sets the canoe from the eddy of one rock to that of another; while the fisherman, in the prow, who sees, through the pellucid element, the prey of which he is in pursuit, dips his net, and sometimes brings up, at every succeeding dip, as many as it can contain. The fish are often crowded together in the water, in great

numbers; and a skilful fisherman, in autumn, will take five hundred in two hours.

This fishery is of great moment to the surrounding Indians, whom it supplies with a large proportion of their winter's provision; for, having taken the fish, in the manner described, they cure them, by drying in the smoke, and lay them up in large quantities.

There is at present a village of Chipeways, of fifty warriors, seated at this place; but the inhabitants reside here during the summer only, going westward, in the winter, to hunt. The village was anciently much more populous.

At the south are also seen a few of the wandering *O'pimittish Ininiwac*, literally, Men of the Woods, and otherwise called Wood-Indians, and *Gens de Terres*[1]—a peaceable and inoffensive race, but less conversant with some of the arts of first necessity than any of their neighbours. They have no villages; and their lodges are so rudely fashioned, as to afford them but very inadequate protection against inclement skies. The greater part of their year is spent in travelling from

[1] *Gens de Terres*, afterward called by Henry (part II, chapter IV.) *Tetes de Boule*. An Algonquin tribe who have to the present day, preserved their purely nomadic habits. In Father Dablon's map of 1671 they are marked as occupying the wide country lying to the north of Lake Superior and as far east as Tamiscamque, between the Swampy Crees or Muskegoes and and Mississaquas. During the present century they appear to have removed to the neighbourhood of the St. Maurice River, in the Province of Quebec, where three bands, numbering 250 souls, are reported by the Canadian Indian Department, in addition

place to place, in search of food. The animal, on which they chiefly depend, is the hare. This they take in springes. Of the skin, they make coverings, with much ingenuity, cutting it into narrow strips, and weaving these into a cloth, of the shape of a blanket, and of a quality very warm and agreeable.

The pleasant situation of the fort, and still more the desire of learning the Chipeway language, led me to resolve on wintering in it. In the family of M. Cadotte, no other language than the Chipeway was spoken.

During the summer, the weather was sometimes exceedingly hot. Mosquitoes and black-flies were so numerous as to be a heavy counterpoise to the pleasure of hunting. Pigeons were in great plenty; the stream supplied our drink; and sickness was unknown.

In the course of the season, a small detachment of troops, under the command of Lieutenant Jemette, arrived to garrison the fort.

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to a considerable number occupying lands in common with other Algonquin tribes. In an account of a visit paid to them by J. Adams, published in the *Transactions of the Quebec Historical Society*, vol. 2, 1831, he says that he failed to find any individual whose personal appearance justified the distinctive title which has been applied to them. Their domestic habits are still characteristic. They remain the only tribe in Eastern Canada which persistently refuse to adopt agriculture, either partially or entirely, and continue "Men of the Woods."

CHAPTER VII.

An abundant supply of Fish is obtained at the Fort—but improvidently managed. The Governor's House, and others, burnt, together with all the provisions of the Garrison. The Soldiers, to avoid famine, are re-embarked for Michilimackinac. Method of taking Trout with spears. The Author accompanies the Commandant and Interpreter, on a Journey, by land, to Michilimackinac. The party is twice in danger of starving—it reaches Michilimackinac. Author returns to the Sault. Account of the Snow-Shoe Evil. Bay of Boutchitaouy. Maple-sugar making. Author returns to Michilimackinac.

IN the beginning of October, the fish, as is usual, was in great abundance at the Sault; and, by the fifteenth day of the month, I had myself taken upward of five hundred. These, I caused to be dried, in the customary manner, by suspending them, in pairs, head downward, on long poles, laid horizontally, for that purpose, and supported by two stakes, driven into the ground at either end. The fish are frozen the first night after they are taken; and, by the aid of the severe cold of the winter, they are thus preserved, in a state perfectly fit for use, even till the month of April.

Others were not less successful than myself; and

several canoe-loads of fish were exported to Michilimackinac, our commanding officer being unable to believe that his troops would have need to live on fish during the winter; when, as he flattered himself, a regular supply of venison and other food would reach the garrison, through the means of the Indians, whose services he proposed to purchase, out of the large funds of liquor which were subject to his orders.

But, all these calculations were defeated, by the arrival of a very serious misfortune. At one o'clock, in the morning of the twenty-second day of December, I was awakened by an alarm of fire, which was actually raging in the houses of the commandant and others. On arriving at the commandant's, I found that this officer was still within side; and, being acquainted with the window of the room in which he slept, I procured it to be broken in, in time for his escape. I was also so fortunate as to save a small quantity of gunpowder, only a few moments before the fire reached all the remainder. A part of the stockade, all the houses, M. Cadotte's alone excepted, all the provisions of the troops, and a considerable part of our fish, were burnt.

On consultation, the next day, it was agreed, that the only means which remained, at this late period of the season, to preserve the garrison from famine, was that of sending it back to Michilimackinac. This was itself an undertaking of some peril; for, had the ice prevented their reaching the place of destination, starving would have become as inevitable elsewhere, as it threatened to be at the Sault de Sainte-Marie. The soldiers embarked, and happily reached Michilimackinac on the

thirty-first day of the month. On the very next morning, the navigation was wholly closed.

The commandant, and all the rest, now lived in one small house, subsisting only by hunting and fishing. The woods afforded us some hares and partridges, and we took large trout with the spear. In order to spear trout under the ice, holes being first cut, of two yards in circumference, cabins of about two feet in height, are built over them, of small branches of trees; and these are further covered with skins, so as wholly to exclude the light. The design and result of this contrivance is, to render it practicable to discern objects in the water, at a very considerable depth; for the reflection of light from the water gives that element an opaque appearance, and hides all objects from the eye, at a small distance beneath its surface. A spear-head of iron is fastened on a pole, of about ten feet in length. This instrument is lowered into the water; and the fisherman, lying upon his belly, with his head under the cabin or cover, and therefore over the hole, lets down the figure of a fish, in wood, and filled with lead. Round the middle of the fish, is tied a small pack-thread; and, when at the depth of ten fathom, where it is intended to be employed, it is made, by drawing the string, and by the simultaneous pressure of the water, to move forward, after the manner of a real fish. Trout and other large fish, deceived by its resemblance, spring toward it, to seize it; but, by a dexterous jerk of the string, it is instantly taken out of their reach. The decoy is now drawn nearer to the surface; and the fish takes some time to renew the attack, during which the

spear is raised, and held conveniently for striking. On the return of the fish, the spear is plunged into its back; and, the spear being barbed, it is easily drawn out of the water. So completely do the rays of the light pervade the element, that in three fathom water, I have often seen the shadows of the fish, on the bottom, following them as they moved: and this, when the ice itself was two feet in thickness.

By these pursuits, and others of a similar kind, we supported ourselves for two months, that is, until the twentieth of February, when we imagined the lake to be frozen, and Michilimackinac therefore accessible; and, the commandant wishing to go to that fort, M. Cadotte, myself, two Canadians and two Indians, agreed to accompany him. The Canadians and Indians were loaded with some parched maize, some fish, a few pieces of scorched pork, which had been saved from the fire, and a few loaves of bread, made of flour, which was also partly burnt.

We walked on snow-shoes, a mode of travelling sufficiently fatiguing to myself, but of which the commandant had had no previous experience whatever. In consequence, our progress was slow, wearisome and disastrous. On the seventh day of our march, we had only reached Point du Detour, which lies half way between the Sault and Michilimackinac; and here, to our mortification and dismay, we found the lake still open, and the ice drifting. Our provisions, too, on examination, were found to be nearly expended; and nothing remained for us to do, but to send back the

Canadians and Indians, whose motions would be swift, for an additional supply.

In their absence, the commandant, M. Cadotte and myself, three persons in number, were left with about two pounds of pork and three of bread, for our subsistence during the three days, and perhaps four, which they would require, for a journey of ninety miles. Being appointed to act the part of commissary, I divided the provisions into four parts, one for each day; and, to our great happiness, at ten o'clock, on the fourth day, our faithful servants returned. Early, in the morning of the fifth, we left our encampment, and proceeded. The weather, this day, was exceedingly cold.

We had only advanced two leagues, when the commandant found it almost wholly impossible to go further, his feet being blistered by the cords of the snow-shoes. On this account, we made short marches, for three days; and this loss of time threatened us anew with famine. We were now too far from the Sault, to send back for a supply; and it was therefore determined that myself, accompanied by one of the Canadians, should go as speedily as possible to Michilimackinac, and there inform the commanding officer of the situation of those behind. Accordingly, the next morning, at break of day, I left my fellow-sufferers, and at three o'clock in the afternoon had the pleasure of entering the fort, whence a party was sent the next morning, with provisions. This party returned on the third day, bringing with it Lieutenant Jemette and the rest, in safety. Major Etherington, of the sixtieth

regiment, who had arrived in the preceding autumn, now commanded at the fort.

I remained at Michilimackinac until the 10th of March, on which day I sat out on my return to the Sault, taking the route of the Bay of Boutchitaouy, which the ice had now rendered practicable. From the bottom of the bay, the course lies in a direct line through the woods, a journey I performed in two days, though I was now troubled with a disorder, called the *snow-shoe evil*,[1] proceeding from an unusual strain on the tendons of the leg, occasioned by the weight of the snow-shoe, and brings on inflammation. The remedy, prescribed in the country, is that of laying a piece of lighted touchwood on the part, and leaving it there till the flesh is burnt to the nerve; but this experiment, though I had frequently seen it attended with success in others, I did not think proper to make upon myself.

The lands, between the Bay of Boutchitaouy and the Sault, are generally swampy, excepting so much of them as compose a ridge, or mountain, running east and west, and which is rocky, and covered with the rock or sugar maple, or sugar-wood.* The season, for making maple-sugar, was now at hand; and, shortly after my arrival at the Sault, I removed, with the other inhabitants, to the place at which we were to perform the manufacture.

* Acer saccharinum.

[1] The mal de raquette of the French Canadians.

A certain part of the maple-woods having been chosen, and which was distant about three miles from the fort, a house, twenty feet long, and fourteen broad, was begun in the morning, and before night made fit for the comfortable reception of eight persons, and their baggage. It was open at top, had a door at each end, and a fire-place in the middle, running the whole length.

The next day was employed in gathering the bark of white birch-trees, with which to make vessels to catch the wine or sap. The trees were now cut or tapped, and spouts or ducts introduced into the wound. The bark vessels were placed under the ducts; and, as they filled, the liquor was taken out in buckets, and conveyed into reservoirs or vats of moose-skin, each vat containing a hundred gallons. From these, we supplied the boilers, of which we had twelve, of from twelve to twenty gallons each, with fires constantly under them, day and night. While the woman collected the sap, boiled it, and completed the sugar, the men were not less busy in cutting wood, making fires, and in hunting and fishing, in part of our supply of food.

The earlier part of the spring is that best adapted to making maple-sugar. The sap runs only in the day; and it will not run, unless there has been a frost the night before. When, in the morning, there is a clear sun, and the night has left ice of the thickness of a dollar, the greatest quantity is produced.

On the twenty-fifth of April, our labour ended, and we returned to the fort, carrying with us, as we found

by the scales, sixteen hundred weight of sugar. We had, besides, thirty-six gallons of syrup; and, during our stay in the woods, we certainly consumed three hundred weight. Though, as I have said, we hunted and fished, yet sugar was our principal food, during the whole month of April. I have known Indians to live wholly upon the same, and become fat.

On the day of our return to the fort, there arrived an English gentleman, Sir Robert Dovers,[2] on a voyage of curiosity. I accompanied this gentleman, on his return to Michilimackinac, which we reached on the twentieth of May. My intention was to remain there, till after my clerks should have come in from the interior, and then to go back to the Sault de Sainte-Marie.

In the beginning of May, the geese and ducks made their appearance, in their progress northward.

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[2] Sir Robert Davers, an English officer, was the eldest son of Sir Jermyn Davers, Bart., of Rushbrooke, and representative of an old Suffolk family which had contributed many members to the public service. On his return journey from Lake Superior he, with Captain Robertson, was murdered above Lake St. Clair, by the Indians who were on their way to join Pontiac, in the attack on Detroit. The news was brought to the commanding officer at that place on the evening of the ninth of May, so that Henry's date is incorrect. It was probably an error, for the second, made in copying.

CHAPTER VIII.

Rumours of hostile designs, on the part of the Indians, against Michilimackinac. The Commandant wholly discredits them, and they are generally disregarded. Indians assemble, in unusual numbers, but exhibit only the most friendly behaviour. The Author is urged, by an Indian to retire from Michilimackinac. Singular Incident. Few apprehensions are entertained within the Fort.

WHEN I reached Michilimackinac, I found several other traders, who had arrived before me, from different parts of the country, and who, in general, declared the dispositions of the Indians to be hostile to the English, and even apprehended some attack. M. Laurent Ducharme[1] distinctly informed Major Etherington, that a plan was absolutely conceived, for destroying him, his garrison and all the English in the upper country; but, the commandant, believing this and other reports to be without foundation, proceeding only from idle or ill-disposed persons, and of a tendency to do mischief, expressed much displeasure against M. Ducharme, and threatened to send the next person,

[1] Laurent Ducharme, was a nephew of Jean Marie Ducharme (1723-1803) who had afterwards a trading house on the Milwaukee river. Various references to the family will be found in the *Journals of Alexander Henry (the younger) and David Thompson. Edited by Elliott Cones.* 3 vols., 1897, p. 234.

who should bring a story of the same kind, a prisoner, to Détroit.

The garrison, at this time, consisted of ninety privates, two subalterns and the commandant; and the English merchants, at the fort, were four in number. Thus strong, few entertained anxiety concerning the Indians, who had no weapons but small arms.

Meanwhile, the Indians, from every quarter, were daily assembling, in unusual numbers, but with every appearance of friendship, frequenting the fort, and disposing of their peltries, in such a manner as to dissipate almost every one's fears. For myself, on one occasion, I took the liberty of observing to Major Etherington that in my judgment, no confidence ought to be placed in them, and that I was informed no less than four hundred lay around the fort.

In return, the major only rallied me, on my timidity; and it is to be confessed, that if this officer neglected admonition, on his part, so did I, on mine. Shortly after my first arrival at Michilimackinac, in the preceding year, a Chipeway, named Wa'wa'tam', began to come often to my house, betraying, in his demeanour, strong marks of personal regard. After this had continued for some time, he came, on a certain day, bringing with him his whole family, and, at the same time, a large present, consisting of skins, sugar and dried meat. Having laid these in a heap, he commenced a speech, in which he informed me, that some years before, he had observed a fast, devoting himself, according to the custom of his nation, to solitude, and

to the mortification of his body, in the hope to obtain, from the Great Spirit, protection through all his days; that on this occasion, he had dreamed of adopting an Englishman, as his son, brother and friend; that from the moment in which he first beheld me, he had recognised me as the person whom the Great Spirit had been pleased to point out to him for a brother; that he hoped that I would not refuse his present; and that he should forever regard me as one of his family.

I could do no otherwise than accept the present, and declare my willingness to have so good a man, as this appeared to be, for my friend and brother. I offered a present in return for that which I had received, which Wawatam accepted, and then, thanking me for the favour which he said that I had rendered him, he left me, and soon after set out on his winter's hunt.

Twelve months had now elapsed, since the occurrence of this incident, and I had almost forgotten the person of my *brother*, when, on the second day of June, Wawatam came again to my house, in a temper of mind visibly melancholy and thoughtful. He told me, that he had just returned from his *wintering-ground*, and I asked after his health ; but, without answering my question, he went on to say, that he was very sorry to find me returned from the Sault; that he had intended to go to that place himself, immediately after his arrival at Michilimackinac; and that he wished me to go there, along with him and his family, the next morning. To all this, he joined an inquiry, whether or not the commandant had heard bad news, adding, that, during the winter, he had himself been frequently dis-

turbed with the *noise of evil birds*; and further suggesting, that there were numerous Indians near the fort, many of whom had never shown themselves within it.—Wawatam was about forty-five years of age, of an excellent character among his nation, and a chief.

Referring much of what I heard to the peculiarities of the Indian character, I did not pay all the attention which they will be found to have deserved, to the entreaties and remarks of my visitor. I answered that I could not think of going to the Sault, so soon as the next morning, but would follow him there, after the arrival of my clerks. Finding himself unable to prevail with me, he withdrew, for that day; but, early the next morning, he came again, bringing with him his wife, and a present of dried meat. At this interview after stating that he had several packs of beaver, for which he intended to deal with me, he expressed, a second time, his apprehensions, from the numerous Indians who were round the fort, and earnestly pressed me to consent to an immediate departure for the Sault. —As a reason for this particular request, he assured me that all the Indians proposed to come in a body, that day, to the fort, to demand liquor of the commandant, and that he wished me to be gone, before they should grow intoxicated.

I had made, at the period to which I am now referring, so much progress in the language in which Wawatam addressed me, as to be able to hold an ordinary conversation in it; but, the Indian manner of speech is so extravagantly figurative, that it is only for a very perfect master to follow and comprehend it

entirely. Had I been further advanced in this respect, I think that I should have gathered so much information, from this my friendly monitor, as would have put me into possession of the design of the enemy, and enabled me to save as well others as myself; as it was, it unfortunately happened, that I turned a deaf ear to every thing, leaving Wawatam and his wife, after long and patient, but ineffectual efforts, to depart alone, with dejected countenances, and not before they had each let fall some tears.

In the course of the same day, I observed that the Indians came in great numbers into the fort, purchasing tomahawks (small axes, of one pound weight,) and frequently desiring to see silver armbands, and other valuable ornaments, of which I had a large quantity for sale. These ornaments, however, they in no instance purchased; but after turning them over, left them, saying, that they would call again the next day. Their motive, as it afterward appeared, was no other than the very artful one of discovering, by requesting to see them, the particular places of their deposit, so that they might lay their hands on them in the moment of pillage with the greater certainty and dispatch.

At night, I turned in my mind the visits of Wawatam; but, though they were calculated to excite uneasiness, nothing induced me to believe that serious mischief was at hand. The next day, being the fourth of June, was the king's birth-day.

CHAPTER IX.

The King's Birth-day being arrived, the Chipeways and Saakies play a match at Bag'gat'iway. Account of this game. Fort Michilimackinac surprised and taken. General massacre of the English. Author solicits protection from M. Langlade—and is refused. Is concealed by a female slave. Indians drink the blood of the slain. Author in imminent peril.

THE morning was sultry. A Chipeway came to tell me that his nation was going to play at *bag'gat'iway*, with the Sacs or Saäkies, another Indian nation, for a high wager. He invited me to witness the sport, adding that the commandant was to be there, and would bet on the side of the Chipeways. In consequence of this information, I went to the commandant, and expostulated with him a little, representing that the Indians might possibly have some sinister end in view; but, the commandant only smiled at my suspicions.

Baggatiway, called by the Canadians, *le jeu de la crosse*, is played with a bat and ball.[1] The bat is

[1] The game of La Crosse has always been a favourite with the Indian tribes of the North American continent. A full reference to its early history will be found in the *Bulletins of the Essex Institute, vol. XVII., p. 89.* "*Indian Games; an Historical Research,*" *by Andrew McFarland;* to its modern development in "*Lacrosse, the National Game of Canada,*" W. G. Beers, 1875.

about four feet in length, curved, and terminating in a sort of racket. Two posts are planted in the ground, at a considerable distance from each other, as a mile, or more. Each party has its post, and the game consists in throwing the ball up to the post of the adversary. The ball, at the beginning, is placed in the middle of the course, and each party endeavours as well to throw the ball out of the direction of its own post, as into that of the adversary's.

I did not go myself to see the match which was now to be played without the fort, because, there being a canoe prepared to depart, on the following day, for Montréal, I employed myself in writing letters to my friends; and even when a fellow-trader, Mr. Tracy, happened to call upon me, saying that another canoe had just arrived from Détroit, and proposing that I should go with him to the beach, to inquire the news, it so happened that I still remained, to finish my letters; promising to follow Mr. Tracey, in the course of a few minutes. [Mr. Tracy had not gone more than twenty paces from my door, when I heard an Indian war-cry, and a noise of general confusion.

Going instantly to my window, I saw a crowd of Indians, within the fort, furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found. In particular, I witnessed the fate of Lieutenant Jemette.

I had, in the room in which I was, a fowling-piece, loaded with swan-shot. This I immediately seized, and held it for a few minutes, waiting to hear the drum beat to arms. In this dreadful interval, I saw several of my countrymen fall, and more than one struggling

between the knees of an Indian, who, holding him in this manner, scalped him, while yet living.

At length, disappointed in the hope of seeing resistance made to the enemy, and sensible, of course, that no effort, of my own unassisted arm, could avail against four hundred Indians, I thought only of seeking shelter. Amid the slaughter which was raging, I observed many of the Canadian inhabitants of the fort, calmly looking on, neither opposing the Indians, nor suffering injury; and, from this circumstance, I conceived a hope of finding security in their houses.

Between the yard-door of my own house, and that of M. Langlade, my next neighbour, there was only a low fence, over which I easily climbed. At my entrance, I found the whole family at the windows, gazing at the scene of blood before them. I addressed myself immediately to M. Langlade, begging that he would put me into some place of safety, until the heat of the affair should be over; an act of charity by which he might perhaps preserve me from the general massacre; but, while I uttered my petition, M. Langlade, who had looked for a moment at me, turned again to the window, shrugging his shoulders, and intimating, that he could do nothing for me:—"*Que voudriez-vous que "j'en ferais?*"

This was a moment for despair; but, the next, a Pani[2] woman,* a slave of M. Langlade's, beckoned to me to

* The Panies are an Indian nation of the south.

[2] Pani is another form of Pawnee which was the name of a tribe of Indians of Caddoan stock, occupying the present State

follow her. She brought me to a door, which she opened, desiring me to enter, and telling me that it led to the garret, where I must go and conceal myself. I joyfullv obeyed her directions; and she, having followed me up to the garret-door, locked it after me, and with great presence of mind took away the key.

This shelter obtained, if shelter I could hope to find it, I was naturally anxious to know what might still be passing without. Through an aperture, which afforded me a view of the area of the fort, I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped and mangled; the dying were writhing and shrieking, under the unsatiated knife and tomahawk; and, from the bodies of some ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory. I was shaken, not only with horror, but with fear. The sufferings which I witnessed, I seemed on the point of experiencing. No long time elapsed, before every one

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of Nebraska, along the Platte river, and its tributaries. They were constantly at war with the surrounding tribes and appear to have been true Ishmaelites. When captured they were retained and frequently sold to Indians at a distance, so that the common name for an Indian slave was Pani, though Choctaws, Osages, and others from the west and south were included in the title. The capitulation at Montreal, September 8th, 1760, provides that the negroes and Panis of both sexes should remain in their condition of slavery. Mr. J. C. Hamilton has compiled an interesting account of this people which is published in the *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, series 3, vol. I., p. 19.

being destroyed, who could be found, there was a general cry, of "All is finished!" At the same instant, I heard some of the Indians enter the house in which I was.

The garret was separated from the room below, only by a layer of single boards, at once the flooring of the one and the ceiling of the other. I could therefore hear every thing that passed; and, the Indians no sooner in, than they inquired, whether or not any Englishman were in the house? M. Langlade replied, that "He "could not say—he did not know of any;"—answers in which he did not exceed the truth; for the Pani woman had not only hidden me by stealth, but kept my secret, and her own, M. Langlade was therefore, as I presume, as far from a wish to destroy me, as he was careless about saving me, when he added to these answers, that "They might examine for themselves, and would soon "be satisfied, as to the object of their question." Saying this, he brought them to the garret-door.

The state of my mind will be imagined. Arrived at the door, some delay was occasioned by the absence of the key, and a few moments were thus allowed me, in which to look around for a hiding-place. In one corner of the garret was a heap of those vessels of birch-bark, used in maple-sugar making, as I have recently described.

The door was unlocked, and opening, and the Indians ascending the stairs before I had completely crept into a small opening, which presented itself, at one end of the heap. An instant after, four Indians entered the

room, all armed with tomahawks, and all besmeared with blood, upon every part of their bodies.

The die appeared to be cast. I could scarcely breathe; but I thought that the throbbing of my heart occasioned a noise loud enough to betray me. The Indians walked in every direction about the garret, and one of them approached me so closely that at a particular moment, had he put his hand, he must have touched me. Still, I remained undiscovered; a circumstance to which the dark colour of my clothes, and the the corner in which I was must have contributed. In a word, after taking several turns in the room, during want of light, in a room which had no window, and in which they told M. Langlade how many they had killed, and how many scalps they had taken, they returned down stairs, and I, with sensations not to be expressed, heard the door, which was the barrier between me and my fate, locked for the second time.

There was a feather-bed on the floor; and, on this, exhausted as I was, by the agitation of my mind, I threw myself down and fell asleep. In this state I remained till the dusk of the evening, when I was awakened by a second opening of the door. The person, that now entered, was M. Langlade's wife, who was mueh surprised at finding me, but advised me not to be uneasy, observing, that the Indians had killed most of the English, but that she hoped I might myself escape.—A shower of rain having begun to fall, she had come to stop a hole in the roof. On her going away, I begged her to send me a little water, to drink; which she did.

As night was now advancing, I continued to lie on

the bed, ruminating on my condition, but unable to discover a resource, from which I could hope for life. A flight, to Detroit, had no probable chance of success. The distance, from Michilimackinac, was four hundred miles; I was without provisions; and the whole length of the road lay through Indian countries, countries of an enemy in arms, where the first man whom I should meet would kill me. To stay where I was, threatened nearly the same issue. As before, fatigue of mind, and not tranquility, suspended my cares, and procured me further sleep.

CHAPTER X.

Means by which the capture of the Fort was accomplished. Author is betrayed — surrenders himself to Wenniway, a Chipeway Chief—and is spared—escapes from an Indian, who treacherously attempts his destruction. Sordid inhumanity of M. Langlade. Author is embarked, with other captives, for the Isles du Castor, in Lake Michigan.

THE game of baggatiway, as from the description above will have been perceived, is necessarily attended with much violence and noise. In the ardour of contest, the ball, as has been suggested, if it cannot be thrown to the goal desired, is struck in any direc- by the adversary. At such a moment, therefore, nothing could be less liable to excite premature alarm, than that the ball should be tossed over the pickets of the fort, nor that having fallen there, it should be followed on the instant, by all engaged in the game, as well the one party as the other, all eager, all struggling, all shouting, all in the unrestrained pursuit of a rude athletic exercise. Nothing could be less fitted to excite premature alarm—nothing, therefore, could be more happily devised, under the circumstances, than a stratagem like this; and this was, in fact, the stratagem which the Indians had employed, by which they had

obtained possession of the fort, and by which they had been enabled to slaughter and subdue its garrison, and such of its other inhabitants as they pleased. To be still more certain of success, they had prevailed upon as many as they could, by a pretext the least liable to suspicion, to come voluntarily without the pickets; and particularly the commandant and garrison themselves.

The respite which sleep afforded me, during the night, was put an end to by the return of morning. I was again on the rack of apprehension. At sunrise, I heard the family stirring; and, presently after, Indian voices, informing M. Langlade that they had not found my hapless self among the dead, and that they supposed me to be somewhere concealed. M. Langlade appeared, from what followed, to be, by this time, acquainted with the place of my retreat, of which, no doubt, he had been informed by his wife. The poor woman, as soon as the Indians mentioned me declared to her husband, in the French tongue, that he should no longer keep me in his house, but deliver me up to my pursuers; giving as a reason for this measure, that should the Indians discover his instrumentality in my concealment, they might revenge it on her children, and that it was better that I should die, than they. M. Langlade resisted, at first, this sentence of his wife's; but soon suffered her to prevail, informing the Indians that he had been told I was in his house, that I had come there without his knowledge, and that he would put me into their hands. This was no sooner expressed than he began

to ascend the stairs, the Indians following upon his heels.

I now resigned myself to the fate with which I was menaced; and regarding every attempt at concealment as vain, I arose from the bed, and presented myself full in view, to the Indians who were entering the room. They were all in a state of intoxication, and entirely naked, except about the middle. One of them, named Wenniway, whom I had previously known, and who was upward of six feet in height, had his entire face and body covered with charcoal and grease, only that a white spot, of two inches in diameter, encircled either eye. This man walking up to me, seized me, with one hand, by the collar of the coat, while in the other he held a large carving-knife, as if to plunge it into my breast; his eyes, meanwhile, were fixed stedfastly on mine. At length, after some seconds, of the most anxious suspense, he dropped his arm, saying, "I won't kill you!"—To this he added, that he had been frequently engaged in wars against the English, and had brought away many scalps; that, on a certain occasion, he had lost a brother, whose name was Musinigon, and that I should be called after him.

A reprieve, upon any terms, placed me among the living, and gave me back the sustaining voice of hope; but Wenniway ordered me down stairs, and there informing me that I was to be taken to his cabin, where, and indeed every where else, the Indians were all mad with liquor, death again was threatened, and not as possible only, but as certain.

I mentioned my fears on this subject to M. Langlade, begging him to represent the danger to my master. M. Langdale, in this instance, did not withhold his compassion, and Wenniway immediately consented that I should remain where I was, until he found another opportunity to take me away.

Thus far secure, I re-ascended my garret-stairs, in order to place myself, the furthest possible, out of the reach of insult from drunken Indians; but, I had not remained there more than an hour, when I was called to the room below, in which was an Indian, who said that I must go with him out of the fort, Wenniway having sent him to fetch me. This man, as well as Wenniway himself, I had seen before. In the preceding year, I had allowed him to take goods on credit, for which he was still in my debt; and some short time previous to the surprise of the fort he had said, upon my upbraiding him with want of honesty, that "He would pay me "before long!"—This speech now came fresh into my memory, and led me to suspect that the fellow had formed a design against my life. I communicated the suspicion to M. Langlade; but he gave for answer, that "I was not now my own master, and must "do as I was ordered."

The Indian, on his part, directed, that before I left the house, I should undress myself, declaring that my coat and shirt would become him better than they did me. His pleasure, in this respect, being complied with, no other alternative was left me

than either to go out naked, or to put on the clothes of the Indian, which he freely gave me in exchange. His motive, for thus stripping me of my own apparel, was no other, as I afterward learned, than this, that it might not be stained with blood when he should kill me.

I was now told to proceed; and my driver followed me close, until I had passed the gate of the fort, when I turned toward the spot where I knew the Indians to be encamped. This, however, did not suit the purpose of my enemy, who seized me by the arm, and drew me violently, in the opposite direction, to the distance of fifty yards, above the fort. Here, finding that I was approaching the bushes and sand-hills, I determined to proceed no further, but told the Indian that I believed he meant to murder me, and that if so, he might as well strike where I was, as at any greater distance. He replied, with coolness, that my suspicions were just, and that he meant to pay me, in this manner, for my goods. At the same time, he produced a knife, and held me in a position to receive the intended blow. Both this, and that which followed, were necessarily the affair of a moment. By some effort, too sudden and too little dependent on thought, to be explained or remembered, I was enabled to arrest his arm, and give him a sudden push, by which I turned him from me, and released myself from his grasp. This was no sooner done, than I ran toward the fort, with all the swiftness in my power, the Indian following me, and I expecting every moment

to feel his knife.—I succeeded in my flight; and, on entering the fort, I saw Wenniway, standing in the midst of the area, and to him I hastened for protection. Wenniway desired the Indian to desist; but the latter pursued me round him, making several strokes at me with his knife, and foaming at the mouth, with rage at the repeated failure of his purpose. At length, Wenniway drew near to M. Langlade's house; and, the door being open, I ran into it. The Indian followed me; but, on my entering the house, he voluntarily abandoned the pursuit.

Preserved so often, and so unexpectedly, as it had now been my lot to be, I returned to my garret with a strong inclination to believe, that through the will of an overruling power, no Indian enemy could do me hurt; but, new trials, as I believed, were at hand, when, at ten o'clock in the evening, I was roused from sleep, and once more desired to descend the stairs. Not less, however, to my satisfaction than surprise, I was summoned only to meet Major Etherington, Mr. Bostwick and Lieutenant Lesslie, who were in the room below.

These gentlemen had been taken prisoners, while looking at the game, without the fort, and immediately stripped of all their clothes. They were now sent into the fort, under the charge of Canadians, because, the Indians having resolved on getting drunk, the chiefs were apprehensive that they would be murdered, if they continued in the camp.—Lieutenant Jemette and seventy soldiers had been killed; and but twenty Englishmen, including

soldiers, were still alive. These were all within the fort, together with nearly three hundred Canadians*

These being our numbers, myself and others proposed to Major Etherington, to make an effort for regaining possession of the fort, and maintaining it against the Indians. The Jesuit missionary was consulted on the project; but he discouraged us, by his representations, not only of the merciless treatment which we must expect from the Indians, should they regain their superiority, but of the little dependence which was to be placed upon our Canadian auxiliaries. Thus, the fort and prisoners remained in the hands of the Indians, though, through the whole night, the prisoners and whites were in actual possession, and they were without the gates.

That whole night, or the greater part of it, was passed in mutual condolence; and my fellow-prisoners shared my garret. In the morning, being again called down, I found my master, Wenniway, and was desired to follow him. He led me to a small house, within the fort, where, in a narrow room, and almost dark, I found Mr. Ezekiel Solomons,[1] an Englishman from Détroit, and a soldier, all

* Belonging to the canoes, etc.

[1] Ezekiel Solomon, a trader from Montreal. In chapter XII. we learn that he was taken by the Ottawas to Montreal and then ransomed. He made the following affidavit before the town mayor of Montreal, on the 14th of August, 1763: "I, Ezekiel Solomon, resident in the Fort of Michilimackinac at the time it was surprised by the savages, declare that on the 2nd day of June, a Frenchman, Mons. Cote, entered my house

prisoners. With these, I remained in painful suspense, as to the scene that was next to present itself, till ten o'clock, in the forenoon, when an Indian arrived, and presently marched us to the lake-side, where a canoe appeared ready for departure, and in which we found that we were to embark.

Our voyage, full of doubt as it was, would have commenced immediately, but that one of the Indians, who was to be of the party, was absent. His arrival was to be waited for; and this occasioned a very long delay, during which we were exposed to a keen north-east wind. An old shirt was all that covered me; I suffered much from the cold; and, in this extremity, M. Langlade coming down to the beach, I asked him for a blanket, promising, if I lived, to pay him for it, at any price he pleased: but, the answer I received was this, that he could let me have no blanket, unless there were some one to be security for the payment. For myself, he observed, I had no longer any property in that country.—I had no more to say to M. Langlade; but, presently seeing

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several times and carried from thence several parcels of goods, my property. And also an Indian named Sanpear, carried the peltry from my house to the house of Aimable Deniviere in whose garret I was then concealed. I owed Monsr. Arick a sum of money, but at the time he demanded it the payment was not due, and I refused to pay him till the time I had contracted for; but he told me, if I did not pay it, he would take it by force; I told him the commanding officer would prevent that and he replied that the commanding officer was nothing and that he himself was commanding officer."—*Gladwin Manuscripts*, p. 667, 1897.

another Canadian, named John Cuchoise, I addressed to him a similar request, and was not refused.[2] Naked as I was, and rigorous as was the weather, but for the blanket, I must have perished.—At

[2] Charles Langlade was the son of Sieur August Langlade, who was born in France about 1695 and was brought to Canada at an early age. He was engaged in the Indian trade near Michilimackinac in 1720, and married the daughter of an Ottawa Chief. His eldest son, Charles, born in 1724, also married an Ottawa woman. He commenced his career as a warrior, by fighting with the Indians at Fort Du Quesne, when Braddock's army was destroyed, and afterwards with Montcalm at the capture of Fort William Henry. The Marquis de Vaudreuil appointed him second in command at Michilimackinac, in September, 1757, from whence he returned to help Montcalm at Ticonderoga and Quebec. While in Montreal, in 1759, he married again, Charlotte, daughter of Laurent Bourasse. After the fall of Quebec he was dispatched by Vaudreuil in 1760, with a commission as lieutenant to take command of the troops and Indians at Michilimackinac. On the conclusion of the peace he removed to Green Bay where he engaged in trading. Captain Etherington asked him to come to him at Michilimackinac which he did, accompanied by his wife and bringing with him a quantity of furs to trade. It was on a subsequent visit that the massacre occurred. He seems after this to have taken the British side, for he was appointed Indian Agent at Green Bay. During the Revolution he raised a body of Indians for the British and was given a medal by Governor Haldimand for his assistance. After the peace he was continued in office by the Americans, though receiving an annuity from the British Government. He died in January, 1800, aged seventy-five years, and his wife survived him until 1818. His descendants are still living in Canada and the Western States. We are told "he was of medium height, about five feet nine inches, a square built man, rather heavy but never corpulent.—*Grigon's Recollections. Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, vol. 3, p. 197.

noon, our party was all collected, the prisoners all embarked, and we steered for the Isles du Castor,[3] in Lake Michigan.

[3] Beaver islands, in the northern part of Lake Michigan. The largest is about fifty miles long. In a direct course it is about forty-five miles from Mackinac.

CHAPTER XI.

Author and fellow-prisoners rescued, by the Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche—relanded at Michilimackinac —restored to the Chipeways—lodged with other prisoners. Author sees and is recognised by Wawatam.

THE soldier, who was our companion in misfortune, was made fast to a bar of the canoe, by a rope tied round his neck, as is the manner of the Indians, in transporting their prisoners. The rest were left unconfined; but a paddle was put into each of our hands, and we were made to use it. The Indians in the canoe were seven in number; the prisoners four. I had left, as it will be recollected, Major Etherington, Lieutenant Lesslie and Mr. Bostwick, at M. Langlade's, and was now joined in misery with Mr. Ezekiel Solomons, the soldier, and the Englishman who had newly arrived from Detroit. This was on the sixth day of June. The fort was taken on the fourth; I surrendered myself to Wenniway on the fifth; and this was the third day of our distress.

We were bound, as I have said, for the Isles du Castor, which lie in the mouth of Lake Michigan; and we should have crossed the lake, but that a thick fog came on, on account of which the Indians deemed it safer to keep the shore close under their lee.

We therefore approached the lands of the Otawas, and their village of L'Arbre Croche, already mentioned as lying about twenty miles to the westward of Michilimackinac, on the opposite side of the tongue of land on which the fort is built.

Every half hour, the Indians gave their war whoops, one for every prisoner in their canoe. This is a general custom, by the aid of which all other Indians, within hearing, are apprized of the number of prisoners they are carrying.

In this manner, we reached Wagoshense,* a long point,[1] stretching westward into the lake, and which the Otawas make a carrying-place, to avoid going round it. It is distant eighteen miles from Michilimackinac. After the Indians had made their war-whoop, as before, an Otawa appeared upon the beach, who made signs that we should land. In consequence, we approached. The Otawa asked the news, and kept the Chipeways in further conversation, till we were within a few yards of the land, and in shallow water. At this moment, a hundred men rushed upon us, from among the bushes, and dragged all the prisoners out of the canoes, amid a terrifying shout.

We now believed that our last sufferings were approaching; but, no sooner were we fairly on shore, and on our legs, than the chiefs of the party advanced, and gave each of us their hands, telling us

* *i. e.* Fox-point.

From Wâgosh, a fox.

that they were our friends, and Otawas, whom the Chipeways had insulted, by destroying the English without consulting with them on the affair. They added, that what they had done was for the purpose of saving our lives, the Chipeways having been carrying us to the Isles du Castor only to kill and devour us.

The reader's imagination is here distracted by the variety of our fortunes, and he may well paint to himself the state of mind of those who sustained them; who were the sport, or the victims, of a series of events, more like dreams than realities, more like fiction than truth! It was not long before we were embarked again, in the canoes of the Otawas, who, the same evening, relanded us at Michilimackinac, where they marched us into the fort, in view of the Chipeways, confounded at beholding the Otawas espouse a side opposite to their own.

The Otawas, who had accompanied us in sufficient numbers, took possession of the fort. We, who had changed masters, but were still prisoners, were lodged in the house of the commandant, and strictly guarded.

Early the next morning, a general council was held, in which the Chipeways complained much of the conduct of the Otawas, in robbing them of their prisoners; alleging that all the Indians, the Otawas alone excepted, were at war with the English; that Pontiac had taken Détroit; that the king of France had awoke, and repossessed himself of Quebec and Montréal; and that the English were meeting destruction, not only at Michilimackinac,

but in every other part of the world. From all this they inferred, that it became the Otawas to restore the prisoners, and to join in the war; and the speech was followed by large presents, being part of the plunder of the fort, and which was previously heaped in the centre of the room.—The Indians rarely make their answers till the day after they have heard the arguments offered. They did not depart from their custom on this occasion; and the council therefore adjourned.

We, the prisoners, whose fate was thus in controversy, were unacquainted, at the time, with this transaction; and therefore enjoyed a night of tolerable tranquility, not in the least suspecting the reverse which was preparing for us. Which of the arguments of the Chipeways, or whether or not all were deemed valid by the Otawas, I cannot say; but, the council was resumed at an early hour in the morning, and, after several speeches had been made in it, the prisoners were sent for, and returned to the Chipeways.

The Otawas, who now gave us into the hands of the Chipeways, had themselves declared, that the latter designed no other than to kill us, and *make broth of us*. The Chipeways, as soon as we were restored to them, marched us to a village of their own, situate on the point which is below the fort, and put us into a lodge, already the prison of fourteen soldiers, tied two and two, with each a rope about his neck, and made fast to a pole which might be called the supporter of the building.

I was left untied; but I passed a night sleepless and full of wretchedness. My bed was the bare ground, and I was again reduced to an old shirt, as my entire apparel; the blanket which I had received, through the generosity of M. Cuchoise, having been taken from me among the Otawas, when they seized upon myself and the others, at Wagoshense. I was besides, in want of food, having for two days ate nothing.

I confess that in the canoe, with the Chipeways, I was offered bread—but, bread, with what accompaniment!—They had a loaf, which they cut with the same knives that they had employed in the massacre —knives still covered with blood. The blood, they moistened with spittle, and rubbing it on the bread, offered this for food to their prisoners, telling them to eat the blood of their countrymen.

Such was my situation, on the morning of the seventh of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three; but, a few hours produced an event which gave still a new colour to my lot.

Toward noon, when the great war-chief, in company with Wenniway, was seated at the opposite end of the lodge, my friend and brother, Wawatam, suddenly came in. During the four days preceding, I had often wondered what had become of him. In passing by, he gave me his hand, but went immediately toward the great chief, by the side of whom and Wenniway, he sat himself down. The most uninterrupted silence prevailed; each smoked his pipe, and this done, Wawatam arose, and left the lodge, saying, to me, as he passed, "Take courage!"

CHAPTER XII.

Indian Council. Speech of Wawatam. Speech of Menehwehna. Wawatam obtains the Author's freedom, and carries him to his own lodge. Seven prisoners killed. A war-feast on human flesh. Messages of invitation. English canoe arrives from Montréal—plundered, and passengers made prisoners. Fate of the Garrison and English Traders, who fell into the hands of the Indians, at Michilimackinac.

AN hour elapsed, during which several chiefs entered, and preparations appeared to be making for a council. At length, Wawatam re-entered the lodge, followed by his wife, and both loaded with merchandize, which they carried up to the chiefs, and laid in a heap before them. Some moments of silence followed, at the end of which Wawatam pronounced a speech, every word of which, to me, was of extraordinary interest:

"Friends and relations," he began, "what is it that "I shall say? You know what I feel. You all have "friends and brothers and children, whom as your- "selves you love; and you—what would you experi- "ence, did you, like me, behold your dearest friend "—your brother—in the condition of a slave; a "slave, exposed every moment to insult, and to "menaces of death? This case, as you all know, is

"mine. See there (*pointing to myself*) my friend "and brother among slaves—himself a slave!

"You all well know, that long before the war "began, I adopted him as my brother. From that "moment, he became one of my family, so that no "change of circumstances could break the cord which "fastened us together.

"He is my brother; and, because I am your rela- "tion, he is therefore your relation too:—and how, "being your relation, can he be your slave?

"On the day, on which the war began, you were "fearful, lest, on this very account, I should reveal "your secret. You requested, therefore, that I would "leave the fort, and even cross the lake. I did so; but "I did it with reluctance, notwithstanding that you, "Menehwehna, who had the command in this enter- "prise, gave me your promise that you would protect "my friend, delivering him from all danger and giving "him safely to me.

"The performance of this promise, I now claim. "I come not with empty hands to ask it. You, Meneh- "wehna, best know, whether or not, as it respects "yourself, you have kept your word, but I bring "these goods, to buy off every claim which any man "among you all may have on my brother, as his "prisoner."

Wawatam having ceased, the pipes were again filled; and, after they were finished, a further period of silence followed. At the end of this, Menehwehna arose, and gave his reply:

"My relation and brother," said he, "what you "have spoken is the truth. We were acquainted "with the friendship which subsisted between your- "self and the Englishman, in whose behalf you have "now addressed us. We knew the danger of having our "secret discovered, and the consequences which must "follow; and you say truly, that we requested you to "leave the fort. This we did, out of regard for you "and your family; for, if a discovery of our design "had been made, you would have been blamed, "whether guilty or not; and you would thus have "been involved in difficulties from which you could "not have extricated yourself.

"It is also true, that I promised you to take care "of your friend; and this promise I performed, by "desiring my son, at the moment of assault, to seek "him out, and bring him to my lodge. He went "accordingly, but could not find him. The day after, "I sent him to Langlade's, when he was informed that "your friend was safe; and had it not been that the "Indians were then drinking the rum which had been "found in the fort, he would have brought him home "with him, according to my orders.

"I am very glad to find that your friend has "escaped. We accept your present; and you may take "him home with you."

Wawatam thanked the assembled chiefs, and taking me by the hand, led me to his lodge, which was at the distance of a few yards only from the prison-lodge. My entrance appeared to give joy to the whole family; food was immediately prepared for me; and

I now ate the first heartv meal which I had made since my capture. I found myself one of the family; and but that I had still my fears, as to the other Indians, I felt as happy as the situation could allow.

In the course of the next morning, I was alarmed by a noise in the prison-lodge; and looking through the openings of the lodge in which I was, I saw seven dead bodies of white men dragged forth. Upon my inquiry into the occasion, I was informed, that a certain chief, called, by the Canadians, Le Grand Sable, had not long before arrived from his winter's hunt; and that he, having been absent when the war begun, and being now desirous of manifesting to the Indians at large, his hearty concurrence in what they had done, had gone into the prison-lodge, and there, with his knife, put the seven men, whose bodies I had seen, to death.

Shortly after, two of the Indians took one of the dead bodies, which they chose as being the fattest, cut off the head, and divided the whole into five parts, one of which was put into each of five kettles, hung over as many fires kindled for this purpose, at the door of the prison-lodge. Soon after things were so far prepared, a message came to our lodge, with an invitation to Wawatam, to assist at the feast.

An invitation to a feast is given by him who is the master of it. Small cuttings of cedar-wood, of about four inches in length, supply the place of cards; and the bearer, by word of mouth, states the particulars.

Wawatam obeyed the summons, taking with him,

as is usual, to the place of entertainment, his dish and spoon.

After an absence of about half an hour, he returned, bringing in his dish a human hand, and a large piece of flesh. He did not appear to relish the repast, but told me, that it was then, and always had been the custom, among all the Indian nations, when returning from war, or on overcoming their enemies, to make a war-feast, from among the slain. This, he said, inspired the warrior with courage in attack, and bred him to meet death with fearlessness.

In the evening of the same day, a large canoe, such as those which came from Montréal, was seen advancing to the fort. It was full of men, and I distinguished several passengers. The Indian cry was made in the village; a general muster ordered; and, to the number of two hundred, they marched up to the fort, where the canoe was expected to land. The canoe, suspecting nothing, came boldly to the fort, where the passengers, as being English traders, were seized, dragged through the water, beat, reviled, marched to the prison-lodge, and there stripped of their clothes, and confined.

Of the English traders that fell into the hands of the Indians, at the capture of the fort, Mr. Tracy was the only one who lost his life. Mr. Ezekiel Solomons and Mr. Henry Bostwick were taken by the Otawas, and, after the peace, carried down to Montréal, and there ransomed. Of ninety troops, about seventy were killed; the rest, together with those of the posts in the Bay des Puants, and at the river Saint-Joseph, were

also kept in safety by the Otawas, till the peace, and then either freely restored, or ransomed at Montréal. The Otawas never overcame their disgust, at the neglect with which they had been treated, in the beginning of the war, by those who afterward desired their assistance as allies.

CHAPTER XIII.

Indians entertain apprehensions of the English—resolve to retire to the Island of Michilimackinac. A gale of wind—and Indians sacrifice a Dog. Women lament at the burial-place of Relations. Land on the Island. Number of Warriors. Author hid by Wawatam in a cave—makes a discovery there. Indian explanations. Indian sacrifices.

IN the morning of the ninth of June, a general council was held, at which it was agreed to remove to the island of Michilimackinac, as a more defensible situation, in the event of an attack by the English. The Indians had begun to entertain apprehensions of want of strength. No news had reached them from the Potawatamies, in the Bay des Puants; and they were uncertain whether or not the Monomins * would join them.[1] They even feared that the Sioux would take the English side.

* Manomines, or Malomines. In the first syllable, the substitution of *l* for *n*, and *n* for *l*, marks one of the differences in the Chipeway and Algonquin dialects.

In the mouth of an Algonquin, it is *Michilimackinac;* in that of a Chipeway, *Michinimackinac.*

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[1] Menomini Indians who occupied the western side of Green Bay, Wisconsin, and have since been removed to a reservation

This resolution fixed, they prepared for a speedy retreat. At noon, the camp was broken up, and we embarked, taking with us the prisoners that were still undisposed of. On our passage, we encountered a gale of wind, and there were some appearances of danger. To avert it, a dog, of which the legs were previously tied together, was thrown into the lake; an offering designed to soothe the angry passions of some offended Ma'ni'to'.

As we approached the island, two women, in the canoe in which I was, began to utter melancholy and hideous cries. Precarious as my condition still remained, I experienced some sensations of alarm, from these dismal sounds, of which I could not then discover the occasion. Subsequently, I learned, that it is customary for the women, on passing near the burial-places of relations, never to omit the practice

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in the north-western part of the State. They were first visited by Nicollet in 1634. The name is derived from Omanomineu (*manome*, rice and *inani*, man). Shea says the "name is the Algonquin term for the grain *Zizania aquatica*, wild rice. The French called both the grain and tribe Fol Avoin, wild oats. They have always been closely associated with the Winnebagos, their language is Algonquin and more nearly related to the Ojibwa than any other. Lieut. Gorell, who was in command of the fort at Green Bay, at this time, induced them to accompany him to L'Arbre Croche, where the prisoners were released. See *Gorell's Journal*, *Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin Coll.*, *vol. 1*, *p. 25*. For the history and language of this nation, see *Hist. Soc.*, *Wisconsin*, *Coll.*, *Vol. 3.*; *Gallatin's Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America—Archæologia Americana*, *Vol. 2*; and *Hoffman's Menomini Indians—Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1892-3.

of which I was now a witness, and by which they intend to denote their grief.

By the approach of evening, we reached the island in safety, and the women were not long in erecting our cabins. In the morning, there was a muster of the Indians, at which there were found three hundred and fifty fighting-men.

In the course of the day, there arrived a canoe from Detroit, with ambassadors, who endeavoured to prevail on the Indians to repair thither, to the assistance of Pontiac; but fear was now the prevailing passion. A guard was kept during the day, and a watch by night, and alarms were very frequently spread. Had an enemy appeared, all the prisoners would have been put to death; and I suspected, that as an Englishman, I should share their fate.

Several days had now passed, when, one morning, a continued alarm prevailed, and I saw the Indians running, in a confused manner, toward the beach. In a short time, I learned that two large canoes, from Montréal, were in sight.

All the Indian canoes were immediately manned, and those from Montréal were surrounded and seized, as they turned a point, behind which the flotilla had been concealed. The goods were consigned to a Mr. Levy, and would have been saved, if the canoe-men had called them French property; but they were terrified, and disguised nothing.

In the canoes was a large proportion of liquor, a

dangerous acquisition, and which threatened disturbance among the Indians, even to the loss of their dearest friends. Wawatam, always watchful of my safety, no sooner heard the noise of drunkenness, which, in the evening, did not fail to begin, than he represented to me the danger of remaining in the village, and owned that he could not himself resist the temptation of joining his comrades in the debauch. That I might escape all mischief, he therefore requested that I would accompany him to the mountain, where I was to remain hidden, till the liquor should be drank.

We ascended the mountain accordingly. It is this mountain which constitutes that high land, in the middle of the island, of which I have spoken before, as of a figure considered as resembling a *turtle*, and therefore called *michilimackinac*. It is thickly covered with wood, and very rocky toward the top. After walking more than half a mile, we came to a large rock, at the base of which was an opening, dark within, and appearing to be the entrance of a cave.

Here, Wawatam recommended that I should take up my lodging, and by all means remain till he returned.

On going into the cave, of which the entrance was nearly ten feet wide, I found the further end to be rounded in its shape, like that of an oven, but with a further aperture, too small, however, to be explored.

After thus looking around me, I broke small branches from the trees, and spread them for a bed; then wrapped myself in my blanket, and slept till day-break.

On awaking, I felt myself incommoded by some object, upon which I lay; and, removing it, found it to be a bone. This I supposed to be that of a deer, or some other animal, and what might very naturally be looked for, in the place in which I was; but, when day-light visited my chamber, I discovered, with some feelings of horror, that I was lying on nothing less than a heap of human bones and skulls, which covered all the floor!

The day passed without the return of Wawatam, and without food. As night approached, I found myself unable to meet its darkness in the charnel-house, which, nevertheless, I had viewed free from uneasiness during the day. I chose, therefore, an adjacent bush for this night's lodging, and slept under it as before; but, in the morning, I awoke hungry and dispirited, and almost envying the dry bones, to the view of which I returned. At length, the sound of a foot reached me, and my Indian friend appeared, making many apologies for his long absence, the cause of which was an unfortunate excess in the enjoyment of his liquor.

This point being explained, I mentioned the extraordinary sight that had presented itself, in the cave to which he had commended my slumbers. He had never heard of its existence before; and, upon examining the cave together, we saw reason to

believe that it had been anciently filled with human bodies.

On returning to the lodge, I experienced a cordial reception from the family, which consisted of the wife of my friend, his two sons, of whom the eldest was married, and whose wife, and a daughter, of thirteen years of age, completed the list.

Wawatam related to the other Indians the adventure of the bones. All of them expressed surprise at hearing it, and declared that they had never been aware of the contents of this cave before. After visiting it, which they immediately did, almost every one offered a different opinion, as to its history.

Some advanced, that at a period when the waters overflowed the land (an event which makes a distinguished figure in the history of their world), the inhabitants of this island had fled into the cave, and been there drowned; others, that those same inhabitants, when the Hurons made war upon them, (as tradition says they did), hid themselves in the cave, and being discovered, were there massacred. For myself, I am disposed to believe, that this cave was an ancient receptacle of the bones of prisoners, sacrificed and devoured at war-feasts. I have always observed, that the Indians pay particular attention to the bones of sacrifices, preserving them unbroken, and depositing them in some place kept exclusively for that purpose.

CHAPTER XIV.

Care of Menehwehna for the Author's preservation. Author assumes the Indian Costume—in what that Costume consists. Provisions scarce. Indian resignation. Family remove to the Bay of Boutchitaouy. Indian Medicines. Pretended Sorceries. Cures of Flesh wounds.

A FEW days after the occurrence of the incidents recorded in the preceding chapter, Menehwehna, whom I now found to be the great chief of the village of Michilimackinac, came to the lodge of my friend; and when the usual ceremony of smoking was finished, he observed that Indians were now daily arriving from Detroit, some of whom had lost relations or friends in the war, and who would certainly retaliate on any Englishman they found; upon which account, his errand was to advise that I should be dressed like an Indian, an expedient whence I might hope to escape all future insult.

I could not but consent to the proposal, and the chief was so kind as to assist my friend and his family in effecting that very day the desired metamorphosis. My hair was cut off, and my head shaved, with the exception of a spot on the crown, of about twice the diameter of a crown-piece. My face was painted with three or four different colours; some

parts of it red, and others black. A shirt was provided for me, painted with vermilion, mixed with grease. A large collar of wampum was put round my neck, and another suspended on my breast. Both my arms were decorated with large bands of silver above the elbow, besides several smaller ones on the wrists; and my legs were covered with *mitasses*,[1] a kind of hose, made, as is the favorite fashion, of scarlet cloth. Over all, I was to wear a scarlet blanket or mantle, and on my head a large bunch of feathers. I parted, not without some regret, with the long hair which was natural to it, and which I fancied to be ornamental; but the ladies of the family, and of the village in general, appeared to think my person improved, and now condescended to call me handsome, even among Indians.

Protected, in a great measure, by this disguise, I felt myself more at liberty than before; and the season being arrived in which my clerks, from the interior, were to be expected, and some part of my property, as I had a right to hope, recovered, I begged the favour of Wawatam, that he would enable me to pay a short visit to Michilimackinac. He did not fail to comply, and I succeeded in finding my clerks; but, either through the disturbed state of the country, as they represented to be the case, or through their misconduct, as I had reason to think, I obtained nothing;—and nothing, or almost nothing, I now began to think, would be all that I should

[1] Mitasses, French-Canadian from the Chippewa *midâss*, my leggings, Baraga; *medâns*, Wilson.

need, during the rest of my life. To fish and to hunt, to collect a few skins, and exchange them for necessaries, was all that I seemed destined to do, and to acquire, for the future.

I returned to the Indian village, where at this time much scarcity of food prevailed. We were often for twenty-four hours without eating; and when in the morning we had no victuals for the day before us, the custom was to black our faces with grease and charcoal, and exhibit, through resignation, a temper as cheerful as if in the midst of plenty.

A repetition of the evil, however, soon induced us to leave the island, in search of food; and accordingly we departed for the Bay of Boutchitaouy, distant eight leagues,[2] and where we found plenty of wild-fowl and fish.

While in the bay, my guardian's daughter-in-law was taken in labour, of her first child. She was immediately removed out of the common lodge; and a small one, for her separate accommodation, was begun and finished by the women in less than half an hour.

The next morning, we heard that she was very ill, and the family began to be much alarmed on her account; the more so, no doubt, because cases of difficult labour are very rare among Indian women. In this distress, Wawatam requested me to accom-

[2] The distance from Mackinac Island to the Bay of Boutchitaouy is about twelve miles.

pany him into the woods; and on our way informed me, that if he could find a snake, he should soon secure relief to his daughter-in-law.

On reaching some wet ground, we speedily obtained the object of our search, in a small snake, of the kind called the garter-snake. Wawatam seized it by the neck; and, holding it fast, while it coiled itself round his arm, he cut off its head, catching the blood in a cup that he had brought with him. This done, he threw away the snake, and carried home the blood, which he mixed with a quantity of water. Of this mixture, he administered first one table-spoonful, and shortly after a second. Within an hour, the patient was safely delivered of a fine child; and Wawatam subsequently declared, that the remedy, to which he had resorted, was one that never failed.

On the next day, we left the Bay of Boutchitaouy; and the young mother, in high spirits, assisted in loading the canoe, barefooted, and knee-deep in the water.

The medical information, the diseases and the remedies of the Indians, often engaged my curiosity, during the period through which I was familiar with these nations; and I shall take this occasion to introduce a few particulars, connected with their history.

The Indians are in general free from disorders; and an instance of their being subject to dropsy, gout, or stone, never came within my knowledge. Inflammations of the lungs are among their most

ordinary complains, and rheumatism still more so, especially with the aged. Their mode of life, in which they are so much exposed to the wet and cold, sleeping on the ground, and inhaling the night air, sufficiently accounts for their liability to these diseases. The remedies, on which they most rely, are emetics, cathartics and the lancet; but especially the last. Bleeding is so favourite an operation among the women, that they never lose an occasion of enjoying it, whether sick or well. I have sometimes bled a dozen women in a morning, as they sat in a row, along a fallen tree, beginning with the first—opening the vein—then proceeding to the second—and so on, having three or four individuals bleeding at the same time.

In most villages, and particularly in those of the Chipeways, this service was required of me; and no persuasion of mine could ever induce a woman to dispense with it.

In all parts of the country, and among all the nations that I have seen, particular individuals arrogate to themselves the art of healing, but principally by means of pretended sorcery; and operations of this sort are always paid for by a present, made before they are begun. Indeed, whatever, as an imposter, may be the demerits of the operator, his reward may generally be said to be fairly earned, by dint of corporal labour.

I was once present at a performance of this kind, in which the patient was a female child of about

twelve years of age. Several of the elder chiefs were invited to the scene; and the same compliment was paid to myself, on account of the medical skill for which it was pleased to give me credit.

The physician (so to call him) seated himself on the ground; and before him, on a new stroud blanket,[3] was placed a basin of water, in which were three bones, the larger ones, as it appeared to me, of a swan's wing. In his hand, he had his *shishiquoi*, or rattle,[4] with which he beat time to his *medicine-song*. The sick child lay on a blanket, near the physician. She appeared to have much fever, and a severe oppression of the lungs, breathing with difficulty, and betraying symptoms of the last stage of consumption.

After singing for some time, the physician took one of the bones out of the basin: the bone was hollow; and one end being applied to the breast of the patient, he put the other into his mouth, in order to remove the disorder by suction. Having persevered in this as long as he thought proper, he suddenly seemed to force the bone into his mouth, and swallow it. He now acted the part of one suffering severe pain; but, presently finding relief, he

[3] Stroud, Gloucestershire, was noted for its woollen manufactures. The stream which flowed through it was peculiarly adapted for use in dyeing bright colours. The fur companies bought largely of its coloured blankets and its name became a trade-mark for those of the best quality.

[4] Wilson gives it as *sheshiegwun*, and Bishop Baraga as *jishigwan*.

made a long speech, and after this, returned to singing, and to the accompaniment of his rattle. With the latter, during his song, he struck his head, breast, sides and back; at the same time straining, as if to vomit forth the bone.

Relinquishing this attempt, he applied himself to suction a second time, and with the second of the three bones; and this also he soon seemed to swallow.

Upon its disappearance, he began to distort himself in the most frightful manner, using every gesture which could convey the idea of pain: at length, he succeeded, or pretended to succeed, in throwing up one of the bones. This was handed about to the spectators, and strictly examined; but nothing remarkable could be discovered. Upon this, he went back to his song and rattle; and after some time threw up the second of the two bones. In the groove of this, the physician, upon examination, found, and displayed to all present, a small white substance, resembling a piece of the quill of a feather. It was passed round the company, from one to the other; and declared, by the physician, to be the thing causing the disorder of his patient.

The multitude believe that these physicians, whom the French call *jongleurs*, or jugglers, can inflict as well as remove disorders. They believe, that by drawing the figure of any person in sand or ashes, or on clay, or by considering any object as the figure of a person, and then pricking it with a sharp stick, or other substance, or doing in any other manner, that which done to a living body, would cause

pain or injury, the individual represented, or supposed to be represented, will suffer accordingly. On the other hand, the mischief being done, another physician, of equal pretensions, can by suction remove it.—Unfortunately, however, the operations which I have described were not successful, in the instance referred to; for, on the day after they had taken place, the girl died.

With regard to flesh-wounds, the Indians certainly effect astonishing cures. Here, as above, much that is fantastic occurs; but the success of their practice evinces something solid.

At the Sault de Sainte-Marie, I knew a man, who, in the result of a quarrel, received the stroke of an axe in his side. The blow was so violent, and the axe driven so deep, that the wretch who held it could not withdraw it, but left it in the wound, and fled. Shortly after, the man was found, and brought into the fort, where several other Indians came to his assistance. Among these, one, who was a physician, immediately withdrew, in order to fetch his *penegusan*,[5] or medicine-bag, with which he soon returned. The eyes of the sufferer were fixed, his teeth closed, and his case apparently desperate.

The physician took from his bag a small portion of a very white substance, resembling that of a bone; this he scraped into a little water, and forcing open the jaws of the patient with a stick, he poured the

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Pindjigossan, Baraga ; *pinjegoosun*, Wilson.

mixture down his throat. What followed was, that in a very short space of time, the wounded man moved his eyes; and beginning to vomit, threw up a small lump of clotted blood.

The physician now, and not before, examined the wound, from which I could see the breath escape, and from which a part of the omentum[6] depended. This, the physician did not set about to restore to its place; but, cutting it away, minced it into small pieces, and made his patient swallow it.

The man was then carried to his lodge, where I visited him daily. By the sixth day, he was able to walk about; and within a month he grew quite well, except that he was troubled with a cough. Twenty years, after his misfortune, he was still alive.

Another man, being on his wintering-ground, and from home, hunting beaver, was crossing a lake, covered with smooth ice, with two beavers on his back, when his foot slipped, and he fell. At his side, in his belt, was his axe, the blade of which came upon the joint of his wrist; and, the weight of his body coming upon the blade, his hand was completely separated from his arm, with the exception of a small piece of the skin. He had to walk three miles to his lodge, which was thus far away. The skin, which alone retained his hand to his arm, he

[6] Omentum, or caul, a thin membrane more or less covered with fat, which is spread over the intestines. From *omen*, a token, so called because the soothsayers prophesied from an inspection of it.

cut through, with the same axe which had done the rest; and fortunately having on a shirt, he took it off, tore it up, and made a strong ligature above the wrist, so as in some measure to avoid the loss of blood. On reaching his lodge, he cured the wound himself, by the mere use of simples. I was a witness to it perfect healing.[7]

I have said, that these physicians, jugglers, or practitioners of pretended sorcery, are supposed to be capable of inflicting diseases; and I may add, that they are sometimes themselves sufferers on this account. In one instance, I saw one of them killed, by a man who charged him with having brought his brother to death, by malefic arts. The accuser, in his rage, thrust his knife into the belly of the accused, and ripped it open. The latter caught his bowels in his arms, and thus walked toward his lodge, gathering them up from time to time, as they escaped his hold. His lodge was at no considerable distance, and he reached it alive, and died in it.

[7] The late Dr. Pitcher contributed to Schoolcraft's *Indians of North America*, vol. 4, p. 502, a paper on the remedies used by the American Indians in the cure of disease and on the treatment of injuries. Of far more importance, however, to them, than the simple remedies which he described, were the incantations and ceremonies employed by the medicine men or conjurors. Their extraordinary proceedings astonished the Jesuit Fathers who first made their acquaintance, and few writers since, upon Indian manners and customs, have not devoted a considerable space to an account of their strange procedure. See Lafitau's *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, Paris, 1724; Schoolcraft, vols. 3, 4 and 5; and the *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1885-6.

CHAPTER XV.

Encamp on the Island of Saint-Martin. Sturgeon-fishery. Remove to Wintering-ground, in Lake Michigan. Geographical Remarks. Beaver-hunting. Indian Devotion. Beaver. Racoon-hunting.

OUR next encampment was on the island of Saint-Martin, off Cape Saint-Ignace, so called from the Jesuit mission of Saint Ignatius to the Hurons, formerly established there. Our object was to fish for sturgeon, which we did with great success; and here, in the enjoyment of a plentiful and excellent supply of food, we remained until the twentieth day of August. At this time, the autumn being at hand, and a sure prospect of increased security from hostile Indians afforded, Wawatam proposed going to his intended wintering-ground. The removal was a subject of the greatest joy to myself, on account of the frequent insults, to which I had still to submit, from the Indians of our band or village; and to escape from which I would freely have gone almost any where. At our wintering-ground, we were to be alone; for the Indian families, in the countries of which I write, separate in the winter season, for the convenience, as well of subsistence as of the chase, and re-associate in the spring and summer.

In preparation, our first business was to sail for

Michilimackinac, where, being arrived, we procured from a Canadian trader, on credit, some trifling articles, together with ammunition, and two bushels of maize. This done, we steered directly for Lake Michigan. At L'Arbre Croche we stopped one day, on a visit to the Otawas, where all the people, and particularly O'ki'no'chu'ma'ki', the chief, the same who took me from the Chipeways, behaved with great civility and kindness. The chief presented me with a bag of maize. It is the Otawas, it will be remembered, who raise this grain, for the market of Michilimackinac.

Leaving L'Arbre Croche, we proceeded direct to the mouth of the river Aux Sables, on the south side of the lake, and distant about a hundred and fifty miles from Fort Michilimackinac. On our voyage, we passed several deep bays and rivers, and I found the banks of the lake to consist in mere sands, without any appearance of verdure; the sand drifting from one hill to another, like snow in winter. Hence, all the rivers, which here entered the lake, are as much entitled to the epithet of sandy, as that to which we were bound. They are also distinguished by another particularity, always observable in similar situations. The current of the stream being met, when the wind is contrary, by the waves of the lake, it is driven back, and the sands of the shore are at the same time washed into its mouth. In consequence, the river is able to force a passage into the lake, broad only in proportion to its utmost strength; while it hollows for itself, behind the sand-banks, a

basin of one, two, or three miles across. In these rivers we killed many wild-fowl and beaver.

To kill beaver, we used to go several miles up the rivers, before the approach of night, and after the dusk came on, suffer the canoe to drift gently down the current, without noise. The beaver, in this part of the evening, come abroad to procure food, or materials for repairing their habitations; and as they are not alarmed by the canoe, they often pass it within gun-shot.

While we thus hunted along our way, I enjoyed a personal freedom of which I had been long deprived, and became as expert in the Indian pursuits, as the Indians themselves.

On entering the river Aux Sables, Wawatam took a dog, tied its feet together, and threw it into the stream, uttering, at the same time, a long prayer, which he addressed to the Great Spirit, supplicating his blessing on the chase, and his aid in the support of the family, through the dangers of a long winter. —Our lodge was fifteen miles above the mouth of the stream. The principal animals, which the country afforded, were the stag or red-deer, the common American deer, the bear, racoon, beaver and marten.

The beaver feeds in preference on young wood of the birch, asnen, and poplar-tree;* but, in defect of these, on any other tree, those of the pine and fir kinds excepted. These latter it employs only for

* *Populus nigra*, called by the Canadians, *liard*.

building its dams and houses. In wide meadows, where no wood is to be found, it resorts, for all its purposes, to the roots of the rush and water-lily. It consumes great quantities of food, whether of roots or wood; and hence often reduces itself to the necessity of removing into a new quarter. Its house has an arched dome-like roof, of an eliptical figure, and rises from three to four feet above the surface of the water. It is always entirely surrounded by water; but, in the banks adjacent, the animal provides holes or washes, of which the entrance is below the surface, and to which it retreats on the first alarm.

The female beaver usually produces two young at a time, but not unfrequently more. During the first year, the young remain with their parents. In the second, they occupy an adjoining apartment, and assist in building, and in procuring food. At two years old, they part, and build houses of their own; but often rove about for a considerable time, before they fix upon a spot. There are beavers, called, by the Indians, *old bachelors*, who live by themselves, build no houses, and work at no dams, but shelter themselves in holes. The usual method of taking these is by traps, formed of iron, or logs, and baited with branches of poplar.

According to the Indians, the beaver is much given to jealousy. If a strange male approaches the cabin, a battle immediately ensues. Of this, the female remains an unconcerned spectator, careless to which party the law of conquest may assign her. Among the beaver which we killed, those who were with me

pretended to show demonstrations of this fact; some of the skins of the males, and almost all of the older ones, bearing marks of violence, while none were ever to be seen on the skins of the females.

The Indians add, that the male is as constant as he is jealous, never attaching himself to more than one female; while the female, on her side, is always fond of strangers.

The most common way of taking the beaver is that of breaking up its house, which is done with trenching-tools, during the winter, when the ice is strong enough to allow of approaching them; and when, also, the fur is in its most valuable state.

Breaking up the house, however, is only a preparatory step. During this operation, the family made their escape to one or more of their *washes*. These are to be discovered, by striking the ice along the bank, and where the holes are, a hollow sound is returned. After discovering and searching many of these in vain, we often found the whole family together, in the same wash. I was taught occasionally to distinguish a full wash from an empty one, by the motion of the water above its entrance, occasioned by the breathing of the animals concealed in it. From the washes, they must be taken out with the hands; and in doing this, the hunter sometimes receives severe wounds from their teeth. While a hunter, I thought, with the Indians, that the beaver-flesh was very good; but after that of the ox was again within my reach, I could not relish it. The tail is accounted a luxurious morsel.

Beavers, say the Indians, were formerly a people endowed with speech, not less than with the other noble faculties they possess; but, the Great Spirit has taken this away from them, lest they should grow superior in understanding to mankind.[1]

The racoon was another object of our chase. It was my practice to go out in the evening, with dogs, accompanied by the youngest son of my guardian, to hunt this animal. The racoon never leaves its hiding-place till after sun-set.

As soon as a dog falls on a fresh track of the racoon, he gives notice by a cry, and immediately pursues. His barking enables the hunter to follow. The racoon, which travels slowly, and is soon overtaken, makes for a tree, on which he remains till shot.

After the falling of the snow, nothing more is necessary, for taking the racoon, than to follow the track of his feet. In this season, he seldom leaves his habitation; and he never lays up any food. I have found six at a time, in the hollow of one tree, lying upon each other, and nearly in a torpid state. In more than one instance, I have ascertained that they have lived six weeks without food. The mouse is their principal prey.

[1] Much additional interesting information will be found in Martin's *Castorologia, or the History and Traditions of the Canadian Beaver*, Montreal, 1892; and Morgan's *American Beaver*. Phil., 1875.

Racoon-hunting was my more particular and daily employ. I usually went out at the first dawn of day, and seldom returned till sun-set, or till I had laden myself with as many animals as I could carry. By degrees, I became familiarized with this kind of life; and had it not been for the idea of which I could not divest my mind, that I was living among savages, and for the whispers of a lingering hope, that I should one day be released from it—or if I could have forgotten that I had ever been otherwise than as I then was—I could have enjoyed as much happiness in this, as in any other situation.

CHAPTER XVI.

Feast of the Manes of Relations and Friends. Product of Chase. Indian Family set out on a Hunting Excursion. Indian travelling by Land. Author loses his Way.

ONE evening, on my return from hunting, I found the fire put out, and the opening, in the top of the lodge, covered over with skins; by this means excluding, as much as possible, external light. I further observed, that the ashes were removed from the fire-place, and that dry sand was spread where they had been. Soon after, a fire was made without side the cabin, in the open air, and a kettle hung over it to boil.

I now supposed that a feast was in preparation. I supposed so, only; for it would have been indecorous to inquire into the meaning of what I saw. No person, among the Indians themselves, would use this freedom. Good-breeding requires that the spectator should patiently wait the result.

As soon as the darkness of night had arrived the family, including myself, were invited into the lodge. I was now requested not to speak, as a feast was about to be given to the dead, whose spirits delight in uninterrupted silence.

As we entered, each was presented with his

wooden-dish and spoon, after receiving which we seated ourselves. The door was next shut, and we remained in perfect darkness.

The master of the family was the master of the feast. Still in the dark, he asked every one, by turn, for his dish, and put into each two boiled ears of maize. The whole being served, he began to speak. In his discourse, which lasted half an hour, he called upon the manes of his deceased relations and friends, beseeching them to be present, to assist him in the chase, and to partake of the food which he had prepared for them. When he had ended, we proceeded to eat our maize, which we did without other noise than what was occasioned by our teeth. The maize was not half boiled, and it took me an hour to consume my share. I was requested not to break the spikes,* as this would be displeasing to the departed spirits of their friends.

When all was eaten, Wawatam made another speech, with which the ceremony ended. A new fire was kindled, with fresh sparks, from flint and steel; and the pipes being smoked, the spikes were carefully buried, in a hole made in the ground for that purpose, within the lodge. This done, the whole family began a dance, Wawatam singing, and beating a drum. The dance continued the greater part of the night, to the great pleasure of the lodge.—The night of the feast was that of the first day of November.

* The grains of maize, called also Indian corn, grow in compact cells, round a spike.

On the twentieth of December, we took an account of the produce of our hunt, and found that we had a hundred beaver-skins, as many racoons, and a large quantity of dried venison; all which was secured from the wolves, by being placed upon a scaffold.

A hunting-excursion, into the interior of the country, was resolved on; and, early the next morning, the bundles were made up by the women, for each person to carry. I remarked, that the bundle given to me was the lightest, and those carried by the women, the largest and heaviest of the whole.

On the first day of our march, we advanced about twenty miles, and then encamped. Being somewhat fatigued, I could not hunt; but Wawatam killed a stag, not far from our encampment. The next morning, we moved our lodge to the carcass. At this station, we remained two days, employed in drying the meat. The method was to cut it into slices, of the thickness of a steak, and then hang it over the fire, in the smoke. On the third day, we removed, and marched till two o'clock in the afternoon.

While the women were busy in erecting and preparing the lodges, I took my gun, and strolled away, telling Wawatam that I intended to look out for some fresh meat, for supper. He answered, that he would do the same; and, on this, we both left the encampment, in different directions.

The sun being visible, I entertained no fear of losing my way; but, in following several tracks of animals, in momentary expectation of falling in with

the game, I proceeded to a considerable distance, and it was not till near sun-set that I thought of returning. The sky, too, had become overcast, and I was therefore left without the sun for my guide. In this situation, I walked as fast as I could, always supposing myself to be approaching our encampment, till at length it became so dark that I ran against the trees.

I became convinced that I was lost; and I was alarmed by the reflection, that I was in a country entirely strange to me, and in danger from strange Indians. With the flint of my gun, I made a fire, and then laid me down to sleep. In the night, it rained hard. I awoke, cold and wet; and as soon as light appeared, I recommenced my journey, sometimes walking and sometimes running, unknowing where to go, bewildered, and like a madman.

Toward evening, I reached the border of a large lake, of which I could scarcely discern the opposite shore. I had never heard of a lake in this part of the country, and therefore felt myself removed further than ever from the object of my pursuit. To tread back my steps appeared to be the most likely means of delivering myself; and I accordingly determined to turn my face directly from the lake, and keep this direction as nearly as I could.

A heavy snow began to descend, and night soon afterward came on. On this, I stopped and made a fire; and stripping a tree of its sheet of bark, lay down under it, to shelter me from the snow. All night, at small distances, the wolves howled around;

and, to me, seemed to be acquainted with my misfortune.

Amid thoughts the most distracted, I was able at length, to fall asleep; but it was not long before I awoke, refreshed, and wondering at the terror to which I had yielded myself. That I could really have wanted the means of recovering my way, appeared to me almost incredible; and the recollection of it like a dream, or as a circumstance which must have proceeded from the loss of my senses. Had this not happened, I could never, as I now thought, have suffered so long, without calling to mind the lessons which I had received from my Indian friend, for the very purpose of being useful to me, in difficulties of this kind. These were, that generally speaking, the tops of pine-trees lean toward the rising of the sun; that moss grows toward the roots of trees, on the side which faces the north; and that the limbs of trees are most numerous, and largest, on that which faces the south.

Determined to direct my feet by these marks, and persuaded that I should thus, sooner or later, reach Lake Michigan, which I reckoned to be distant about sixty miles, I began my march at break of day. I had not taken, nor wished to take, any nourishment, since I left the encampment; I had with me my gun and ammunition, and was therefore under no anxiety in regard to food. The snow lay about half a foot in depth.

My eyes were now employed upon the trees. When their tops leaned different ways, I looked to

the moss, or to the branches; and by connecting one with another, I found the means of travelling with some degree of confidence. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the sun, to my inexpressible joy, broke from the clouds, and I had now no further need of examining the trees.

In going down the side of a lofty hill, I saw a herd of red-deer approaching. Desirous of killing one of them for food, I hid myself in the bushes, and on a large one coming near, presented my piece, which missed fire, on account of the priming having been wetted. The animals walked along without taking the least alarm; and, having re-loaded my gun, I followed them, and presented a second time. But, now, a disaster of the heaviest kind had befallen me; for, on attempting to fire, I found that I had lost the cock. I had previously lost the screw by which it was fastened to the lock; and to prevent this from being lost also, I had tied it in its place, with a leather string: the lock, to prevent its catching in the bows, I had carried under my molton coat.

Of all the sufferings which I had experienced, this seemed to me the most severe. I was in a strange country, and knew not how far I had to go. I had been three days without food; I was now without the means of procuring myself either food or fire. Despair had almost overpowered me; but, I soon resigned myself into the hands of that Providence, whose arm had so often saved me, and returned on my track, in search of what I had lost. My search was in vain, and I resumed my course, wet, cold and hungry, and almost without clothing.

CHAPTER XVII.

Author regains the Encampment—kills a Bear. Indians endeavour to soothe the Manes of the Bear, and pay it the homage of the customary Feast. Some Remarks on the Natural History of the Bear. Stag-hunting.

THE sun was setting fast, when I descended a hill, at the bottom of which was a small lake, entirely frozen over. On drawing near, I saw a beaver-lodge in the middle, offering some faint prospect of food; but, I found it already broken up. While I looked at it, it suddenly occurred to me, that I had seen it before; and turning my eyes round the place, I discovered a small tree, which I had myself cut down, in the autumn, when, in company with my friends, I had taken the beaver. I was no longer at a loss, but knew both the distance and the route to the encampment. The latter was only to follow the course of a small stream of water, which ran from the encampment to the lake on which I stood. An hour before, I had thought myself the most miserable of men; and now I leaped for joy, and called myself the happiest.

The whole of the night, and through all the succeeding day, I walked up the rivulet, and at sunset reached the encampment, where I was received with the warmest expressions of pleasure by the family,

by whom I had been given up for lost, after a long and vain search for me in the woods.

Some days elapsed, during which I rested myself, and recruited my strength: after this, I resumed the chase, secure, that as the snow had now fallen, I could always return by the way I went.

In the course of the month of January, I happened to observe that the trunk of a very large pine-tree was much torn by the claws of a bear, made both in going up and down. On further examination, I saw that there was a large opening, in the upper part, near which the smaller branches were broken. From these marks, and from the additional circumstance, that there were no tracks on the snow, there was reason to believe that a bear lay concealed in the tree.

On returning to the lodge, I communicated my discovery; and it was agreed that all the family should go together, in the morning, to assist in cutting down the tree, the girth of which was not less than three fathom. The women, at first, opposed the undertaking, because our axes, being only of a pound and a half weight,[1] were not well adapted to so heavy a labour; but, the hope of finding a large bear, and obtaining from its fat a great quantity of oil, an article at the time much wanted, at length prevailed.

Accordingly, in the morning, we surrounded the

[1] The chopper's ordinary axe, averages four and a-half pounds weight.

tree, both men and women, as many at a time as could conveniently work at it; and here we toiled, like beaver, till the sun went down. This day's work carried us about half way through the trunk; and the next morning we renewed the attack, continuing it till about two o'clock, in the afternoon, when the tree fell to the ground. For a few minutes, every thing remained quiet, and I feared that all our expectations were disappointed; but, as I advanced to the opening, there came out, to the great satisfaction of all our party, a bear of extraordinary size, which, before she had proceeded many yards, I shot.

The bear being dead, all my assistants approached, and all, but more particularly my old mother (as I was wont to call her), took his head in their hands, stroking and kissing it several times; begging a thousand pardons for taking away her life; calling her their relation and grandmother; and requesting her not to lay the fault upon them, since it was truly an Englishman that had put her to death.[2]

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[2] "The reverence of hunters for the bear, whom they regularly kill and eat may thus be traced all along the northern region of the Old World, from Behring's Straits to Lapland. It reappears in similar form in North America. With the American Indians, a bear hunt was an important event for which they prepared by long fasts and purgations. Before setting out they offered expiatory sacrifices to the souls of bears slain in previous hunts, and besought them to be favourable to the hunters. When a bear was killed the hunter lit his pipe, and putting the mouth of it between the bear's lips, blew into the bowl, filling the beasts mouth with smoke. Then he begged the bear not to be angry at having been killed and not to thwart him afterwards in the chase. The carcass was roasted whole

This ceremony was not of long duration; and if it was I that killed their grandmother, they were not themselves behind-hand in what remained to be performed. The skin being taken off, we found the fat in several places six inches deep. This, being divided into two parts, loaded two persons; and the flesh parts, were as much as four persons could carry. In all, the carcass must have exceeded five hundred weight.

As soon as we reached the lodge, the bear's head was adorned with all the trinkets in the possession of the family, such as silver arm-bands and wrist-bands, and belts of wampum; and then laid upon a scaffold, set up for its reception, within the lodge. Near the nose, was placed a large quantity of tobacco.

The next morning no sooner appeared, than preparations were made for a feast to the manes. The lodge was cleaned and swept; and the head of the bear lifted up, and a new stroud blanket, which had never been used before, spread under it. The pipes were now lit: and Wawatam blew tobacco-smoke into the nostrils of the bear, telling me to do the same.

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and eaten, not a morsel of the flesh might be left over. The head, painted red and blue, was hung on a post and addressed by orators, who heaped praise on the dead beast. When men of the Bear clan in the Ottawa tribe killed a bear, they made a feast of his own flesh, and addressing him thus, 'Cherish us no grudge because we killed you. You have sense and see that our children are hungry. They love you and wish to take you into their bodies. Is it not glorious to be eaten by the children of a chief?'"—*J. G. Fraser, The Golden Bough*, vol. 1., p. 112.

and thus appease the anger of the bear, on account of my having killed her. I endeavoured to persuade my benefactor and friendly adviser, that she no longer had any life, and assured him that I was under no apprehension from her displeasure; but, the first proposition obtained no credit, and the second gave but little satisfaction.[3]

At length, the feast being ready, Wawatam commenced a speech, resembling, in many things, his address to the manes of his relations and departed companions; but, having this peculiarity, that he here deplored the necessity under which men laboured, thus to destroy their *friends*. He represented, however, that the misfortune was unavoidable, since without doing so, they could by no means subsist. The speech ended, we all ate heartily of the bear's flesh; and even the head itself, after remaining three days on the scaffold, was put into the kettle.

It is only the female bear that makes her winter lodging in the upper parts of trees, a practice by which her young are secured from the attacks of wolves and other animals. She brings forth in the

[3] "Thus the primitive worship of animals assumes two forms which are in some respects the converse of each other. On the one hand animals are respected and are therefore neither killed or eaten. Totemism is a form of this worship. * * * On the other hand, animals are worshipped because they are habitually killed and eaten. In both forms of worship the animal is revered on account of some benefit, positive or negative, which the savage hopes to receive from it."—*J. G. Fraser, The Golden Bough*, vol. 1, p. 133.

winter-season; and remains in her lodge till the cubs have gained some strength.

The male always lodges in the ground, under the roots of trees. He takes to this habitation as soon as the snow falls, and remains there till it has disappeared. The Indians remark, that the bear comes out in the spring with the same fat which he carried in, in the autumn; but, after exercise of only a few days, becomes lean. Excepting for a short part of the season, the male lives constantly alone.

The fat of our bear was melted down, and the oil filled six porcupine-skins.* A part of the meat was cut into strips, and fire-dried, after which it was put into the vessels containing the oil, where it remained in perfect preservation, until the middle of summer.

February, in the country and by the people where and among whom I was, is called the Moon of Hard, or Crusted Snow; for now the snow can bear a man, or at least dogs, in pursuit of animals of the chase.

At this season, the stag is very successfully hunted, his feet breaking through at every step, and the crust upon the snow, cutting his legs, with its sharp edges, to the very bone. He is consequently, in this distress, an easy prey; and it frequently happened that we killed twelve in the short space of two hours. By this means, we were soon put into possession of four thousand weight of dried venison, which was to be

* The animal, which, in America, is called the porcupine, is a hedge-hog, or urchin.

carried on our backs, along with all the rest of our wealth, for seventy miles, the distance of our encampment from that part of the lake shore, at which in the autumn we left our canoes. This journey it was our next business to perform.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Commence return to Michilimackinac. Join other Indian Families and make Maple-sugar. Family Lands. Child Scalded. Prayers, Fasts and Sacrifices for its Recovery. Child Dies. Body carried for Burial at the accustomed Burial-ground of the Family. Burial. Indian Opinions concerning the Future State of the Soul of Man.

OUR venison and furs and peltries were to be disposed of at Michilimackinac, and it was now the season for carrying them to market. The women therefore prepared our loads; and the morning of departure being come, we sat off at day-break, and continued our march till two o'clock in the afternoon. Where we stopped, we erected a scaffold, on which we deposited the bundles we had brought, and returned to our encampment, which we reached in the evening. In the morning, we carried fresh loads, which being deposited with the rest, we returned a second time in the evening. This we repeated, till all was forwarded one stage. Then, removing our lodge to the place of deposit, we carried our goods, with the same patient toil, a second stage; and so on, till we were at no great distance from the shores of the lake.

Arrived here, we turned our attention to sugar-making, the management of which, as I have before

related, belongs to the women, the men cutting wood for the fires, and hunting and fishing. In the midst of this, we were joined by several lodges of Indians, most of whom were of the family to which I belonged, and had wintered near us. The lands belonged to this family, and it had therefore the exclusive right to hunt on them. This is according to the custom of the people; for each family has its own lands. I was treated very civilly by all the lodges.

Our society had been a short time enlarged, by this arrival of our friends, when an accident occurred which filled all the village with anxiety and sorrow. A little child, belonging to one of our neighbours, fell into a kettle of boiling syrup. It was instantly snatched out, but with little hope of its recovery.

So long, however, as it lived, a continual feast was observed; and this was made to the Great Spirit and Master of Life, that he might be pleased to save and heal the child. At this feast, I was a constant guest; and often found difficulty in eating the large quantity of food, which, on such occasions as these, is put upon each man's dish. The Indians accustom themselves both to eat much, and to fast much, with facility.

Several sacrifices were also offered; among which were dogs, killed and hung upon the tops of poles, with the addition of stroud blankets and other articles. These, also, were given to the Great Spirit, in humble hope that he would give efficacy to the medicines employed.

The child died. To preserve the body from the wolves, it was placed upon a scaffold, where it remained till we went to the lake, on the border of which was the burial-ground of the family.

On our arrival there, which happened in the beginning of April, I did not fail to attend the funeral. The grave was made of a large size, and the whole of the inside lined with birch-bark. On the bark was laid the body of the child, accompanied with an axe, a pair of snow-shoes, a small kettle, several pairs of common shoes, its own strings of beads, and—because it was a girl—a carrying-belt and a paddle. The kettle was filled with meat.

All this was again covered with bark; and at about two feet nearer the surface, logs were laid across, and these again covered with bark, so that the earth might by no means fall upon the corpse.

The last act before the burial, performed by the mother, crying over the dead body of her child, was that of taking from it a lock of hair, for a memorial. While she did this, I endeavoured to console her, by offering the usual arguments; that the child was happy in being released from the miseries of this present life, and that she should forbear to grieve, because it would be restored to her in another world, happy and everlasting. She answered, that she knew it, and that by the lock of hair she should discover her daughter; for she would take it with her.—In this she alluded to the day, when some pious hand would place in her own grave, along with the carry-

ing-belt and paddle, this little relic, hallowed by maternal tears.[1]

I have frequently inquired into the ideas and opinions of the Indians, in regard to futurity, and always found that they were somewhat different, in different individuals.

Some suppose their souls to remain in this world, although invisible to human eyes; and capable, themselves, of seeing and hearing their friends, and also of assisting them, in moments of distress and danger.

Others dismiss from the mortal scene the unembodied spirit, and send it to a distant world or country, in which it receives reward or punishment, according to the life which it has led in its prior state. Those who have lived virtuously are transported into a place abounding with every luxury, with deer and all other animals of the woods and water, and where the earth produces, in their greatest perfection, all its sweetest fruits. While, on the other hand, those who have violated or neglected the duties of this life, are removed to a barren soil, where they wander up and down, among rocks and morasses, and are stung by gnats, as large as pigeons.

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[1] A most comprehensive study of the mortuary customs of the North American Indians has been made by Dr. Yarrow in a monograph which will be found among the publications of the Smithsonian Institute.

CHAPTER XIX.

Indians apprehensive of an attack from the English—kill a Panther—embark for Michilimackinac. Author consulted as to information conveyed to him in Dreams—sells his Furs and Peltries. Indian taciturnity. Author's Life threatened. Wawatam carries him from Fort Michilimackinac. Dreams of Wawatam's Wife oblige the Family to remain at Isle aux Outardes.

WHILE we remained on the border of the lake, a watch was kept every night, in the apprehension of a speedy attack from the English, who were expected to avenge the massacre of Michilimackinac. The immediate grounds of this apprehension were the constant dreams, to this effect, of the more aged women. I endeavoured to persuade them that nothing of the kind would take place; but their fears were not to be subdued.

Amid these alarms, there came a report concerning a real, though less formidable enemy, discovered in our neighbourhood. This was a panther,[1] which one our young men had seen, and which animal some-

[1] Panther or Catamount, is the wild-cat or lynx of the Northern States and Canada, of which there are several varieties. This was probably the Canada lynx *(Lynx Canadensis)*.

times attacks and carries away the the Indian children. Our camp was immediately on the alert, and we set off into the woods, about twenty in number. We had not proceeded more than a mile, before the dogs found the panther, and pursued him to a tree, on which he was shot. He was of a large size.

On the twenty-fifth of April, we embarked for Michilimackinac. At Le Grande Traverse, we met a large party of Indians, who appeared to labour, like ourselves, under considerable alarm; and who dared proceed no further, lest they should be destroyed by the English. Frequent councils of the united bands were held; and interrogations were continually put to myself, as to whether or not I knew of any design to attack them. I found that they believed it possible for me to have a fore-knowledge of events, and to be informed by dreams of all things doing at a distance.

Protestations of my ignorance were received with but little satisfaction, and incurred the suspicion of a design to conceal my knowledge. On this account therefore, or because I saw them tormented with fears which had nothing but imagination to rest upon, I told them, at length, that I knew there was no enemy to insult them; and that they might proceed to Michilimackinac without danger from the English. I further, and with more confidence, declared, that if ever my countrymen returned to Michilimackinac, I would recommend them to their favour, on account of the good treatment which I had received from them. Thus encouraged, they embarked at an early hour the next morning. In crossing the bay, we experienced a storm of thunder and lightning.

Our port was the village of L'Arbre Croche, which we reached in safety, and where we staid till the following day. At this village we found several persons who had been lately at Michilimackinac, and from them we had the satisfaction of learning that all was quiet there. The remainder of our voyage was therefore performed with confidence.

In the evening of the twenty-seventh, we landed at the fort, which now contained only two French traders. The Indians who had arrived before us were very few in number; and by all who were of our party, I was used very kindly. I had the entire freedom both of the fort and camp.

Wawatam and myself settled our stock, and paid our debts; and this done, I found that my share of what was left consisted in a hundred beaver-skins, sixty racoon-skins and six otter, of the total value of about one hundred and sixty dollars. With these earnings of my winter's toil, I proposed to purchase clothes, of which I was much in need, having been six months without a shirt; but, on inquiring into the prices of goods, I found that all my funds would not go far. I was able, however, to buy two shirts, at ten pounds of beaver each; a pair of *leggings*, or pantaloons, of scarlet c loth, which with the ribbon to garnish them *fashionably*, cost me fifteen pounds of beaver; a blanket, at twenty pounds of beaver; and some other articles, at proportionable rates. In this manner, my wealth was soon reduced; but, not before I had laid in a good stock of ammunition and tobacco.

To the use of the latter I had become much attached during the winter. It was my principal recreation, after returning from the chase; for my companions in the lodge were unaccustomed to pass the time in conversation. Among the Indians, the topics of conversation are but few, and limited for the most part, to the transactions of the day, the number of animals which they have killed, and of those which have escaped their pursuit; and other incidents of the chase. Indeed, the causes of taciturnity among the Indians, may be easily understood, if we consider how many occasions of speech, which present themselves to us, are utterly unknown to them; the records of history, the pursuits of science, the disquisitions of philosophy, the systems of politics, the business and the amusements of the day, and the transactions of the four corners of the world.

Eight days had passed in tranquillity, when there arrived a band of Indians from the Bay of Saguenaum.[2] They had assisted at the siege of Détroit, and came to muster as many recruits for that service as they could. For my own part, I was soon informed, that as I was the only Englishman in the place, they proposed to kill me, in order to give their friends a mess of English broth, to raise their courage.

This intelligence was not of the most agreeable kind; and in consequence of receiving it, I requested

[2] A notoriously turbulent band of Chippeways from the head of Saginaw Bay. This name Charlevoix gives as Saguinam, while in De L'Isle's map of 1703 it appears as Saguina.

my friend to carry me to the Sault de Sainte-Marie, at which place I knew the Indians to be peaceably inclined, and that M. Cadotte enjoyed a powerful influence over their conduct. They considered M. Cadotte as their chief; and he was not only my friend, but a friend to the English. It was by him that the Chipeways of Lake Superior were prevented from joining Pontiac.

Wawatam was not slow to exert himself for my preservation; but, leaving Michilimackinac in the night, transported myself and all his lodge to Point Saint-Ignace, on the opposite side of the strait. Here we remained till day-light, and then went into the Bay of Boutchitaouy, in which we spent three days in fishing and hunting, and where we found plenty of wild-fowl. Leaving the bay, we made for the Isle aux Outardes, where we were obliged to put in, on account of the wind's coming ahead. We proposed sailing for the Sault the next morning.

But, when the morning came, Wawatam's wife complained that she was sick, adding, that she had had bad dreams, and knew that if we went to the Sault we should all be destroyed. To have argued, at this time, against the infallibility of dreams, would have been extremely unadvisable, since I should have appeared to be guilty, not only of an odious want of faith, but also of a still more odious want of sensibility to the possible calamities of a family which had done so much for the alleviation of mine. I was silent; but the disappointment seemed to seal my fate. No

prospect opened to console me. To return to Michilimackinac could only ensure my destruction; and to remain at the island was to brave almost equal danger, since it lay in the direct route between the fort and the Missisaki, along which the Indians from Detroit were hourly expected to pass, on the business of their mission. I doubted not, but, taking advantage of the solitary situation of the family, they would carry into execution their design of killing me.

CHAPTER XX.

Author is again relieved—takes leave of Wawatam and his Family—is hospitably received by M. Cadotte, at the Sault de Sainte-Marie—pursued by the Indians. Embassy from Sir William Johnson. Deputation to Sir William—Author to accompany it. GREAT TURTLE *to be consulted.*

UNABLE therefore to take any part in the direction of our course, but a prey at the same time to the most anxious thoughts as to my own condition, I passed all the day on the highest part, to which I could climb, of a tall tree, and whence the lake, on both sides of the island, lay open to my view. Here I might hope to learn, at the earliest possible, the approach of canoes, and by this means be warned in time to conceal myself.

On the second morning, I returned, as soon as it was light, to my watch-tower, on which I had not been long before I discovered a sail, coming from Michilimackinac.

The sail was a white one, and much larger than those usually employed by the Northern Indians. I therefore indulged a hope that it might be a Canadian canoe, on its voyage to Montréal; and that I might be able to prevail upon the crew to take me with them and thus release me from all my troubles.

My hopes continued to gain strength; for I soon persuaded myself that the manner in which the paddles were used, on board the canoe, was Canadian, and not Indian. My spirits were elated; but, disappointment had become so usual with me that I could not suffer myself to look to the event with any strength of confidence.

Enough, however, appeared at length to demonstrate itself, to induce me to descend the tree, and repair to the lodge, with my tidings and schemes of liberty. The family congratulated me on the approach of so fair an opportunity of escape; and my father and brother (for he was alternately each of these), lit his pipe, and presented it to me, saying, "My son, this may be the last time that ever you and "I shall smoke out of the same pipe! I am sorry to "part with you. You know the affection which I "have always borne you, and the dangers to which I "have exposed myself and family, to preserve you "from your enemies; and I am happy to find that my "efforts promise not to have been in vain."—At this time, a boy came into the lodge, informing us that the canoe had come from Michilimackinac, and was bound to the Sault de Sainte-Marie. It was manned by three Canadians, and was carrying home Madame Cadotte, the wife of M. Cadotte, already mentioned.

My hopes of going to Montréal being now dissipated, I resolved on accompanying Madame Cadotte, with her permission, to the Sault. On communicating my wishes to Madame Cadotte, she

cheerfully acceded to them. Madame Cadotte, as I have already mentioned, was an Indian woman, of the Chipeway nation; and she was very generally respected.[1]

My departure fixed upon, I returned to the lodge, where I packed up my wardrobe, consisting of my two shirts, pair of *leggings* and blanket. Besides these, I took a gun and ammunition, presenting what remained further to my host. I also returned the

[1] Jean Baptiste Cadotte, or Cadot, was the son of M. Cadeaux "who arrived in the Ojibwa country in 1671, in the train of the French envoy, Sieur de St. Lusson." His early life was spent with the adventurous traders who found their way to the headwaters of the Mississippi and Great Lakes. As a "marchant voyageur" he confined his trading to the Ojibwa villages of Lake Superior, and held almost a monopoly of their trade. He married the daughter of a chief of the A-waus-e clan, one of the principal divisions of the Ojibwas, first with the native ceremonies and afterwards in the chapel. All records bear testimony to her uprightness, energy, and force of character. Aided by her, Cadotte exercised great and salutary influence over the Ojibwas and when French domination passed away he was the only French trader of any importance who remained in the upper country. He was the last Governor of the fort at Sault Ste. Marie. He became Henry's partner, and lived till 1803. His large land claims were disallowed by the American Government after the revolution. His two sons, John Baptiste and Michel, were notable characters in the fur trade in the days of the North-West Company. Both married Indian wives and both have left many descendants who are scattered over the Western States and Canada.—*Tassé's Les Canadiens de L'Ouest*, vol. 1; *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, vol. 5. A curious story about one of Cadotte's grandchildren is told in *Kingston's Western Wanderings*, vol. 1, p. 235.

silver arm-bands, with which the family had decorated me, the year before.

We now exchanged farewells, with an emotion entirely reciprocal. I did not quit the lodge without the most grateful sense of the many acts of goodness which I had experienced in it, nor without the sincerest respect for the virtues which I had witnessed among its members. All the family accompanied me to the beach; and the canoe had no sooner put off, than Wawatam commenced an address to the Ki'chi' Ma'ni'to',[2] beseeching him to take care of me, his brother, till we should next meet. This, he had told me, would not be long, as he intended to return to Michilimackinac for a short time only, and would then follow me to the Sault.—We had proceeded to too great a distance to allow of our hearing his voice, before Wawatam had ceased to offer up his prayers.[3]

Being now no longer in the society of Indians, I laid aside the dress, putting on that of a Canadian: a molton or blanket coat, over my shirt; and a handkerchief about my head, hats being very little worn in this country.

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[2] *Kitchi*, great; *Manito*, spirit.—Baraga. *Keche Muhnedoo.* —Wilson.

[3] Schoolcraft made many efforts to discover traces of Wawatam and his family but without success. A Mrs. Dowsman, of Mackinac, told him that Wawatam became blind and was accidentally burned in his lodge at Ottawa Point.

At day-break, on the second morning of our voyage, we embarked, and presently perceived several canoes behind us. As they approached, we ascertained them to be the fleet, bound for the Missisaki, of which I had been so long in dread. It amounted to twenty sail.

On coming up with us, and surrounding our canoe, and amid general inquiries concerning the news, an Indian challenged me for an Englishman, and his companions supported him, by declaring that I looked very like one; but I affected not to understand any of the questions which they asked me, and Madame Cadotte assured them that I was a Canadian, whom she had brought on his first voyage from Montréal.

The following day saw us safely landed at the Sault, where I experienced a generous welcome from M. Cadotte. There were thirty warriors at this place, restrained from joining in the war only by M. Cadotte's influence.

Here, for five days, I was once more in possession of tranquility; but, on the sixth, a young Indian came into M. Cadotte's saying that a canoe full of warriors had just arrived from Michilimackinac; that they had inquired for me; and that he believed their intentions to be bad. Nearly at the same time, a message came from the good chief of the village, desiring me to conceal myself, until he should discover the views and temper of the strangers.

A garret was a second time my place of refuge; and

it was not long before the Indians came to M. Cadotte's. My friend immediately informed Mut'ohi'ki'wish, their chief, who was related to his wife, of the design imputed to them, of mischief against myself. Mutchikiwish frankly acknowledged that they had had such a design; but added that if displeasing to M. Cadotte, it should be abandoned. He then further stated, that their errand was to raise a party of warriors to return with them to Détroit; and that it had been their intention to take me with them.

In regard to the principal of the two objects thus disclosed, M. Cadotte proceeded to assemble all the chiefs and warriors of the village; and these, after deliberating for some time among themselves, sent for the strangers, to whom both M. Cadotte and the chief of the village addressed a speech. In these speeches, after recurring to the designs confessed to have been entertained against myself, who was now declared to be under the immediate protection of all the chiefs, by whom any insult I might sustain would be avenged, the ambassadors were peremptorily told, that they might go back, as they came, none of the young men of this village being foolish enough to join them.

A moment after, a report was brought, that a canoe had just arrived from Niagara. As this was a place from which every one was anxious to hear news, a message was sent to these fresh strangers, requesting them to come to the council.[1]

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[1] The Indian raids on the whole western frontier had been so murderous, that the British resolved to attack them in force. Bouquet was to be despatched with one army against the Dela-

The strangers came accordingly, and being seated, a long silence ensued. At length, one of them, taking up a belt of wampum, addressed himself thus to the assembly: "My friends and brothers, "I am come, with "this belt, from our great father, Sir William Johnson. "He desired me to come to you, as his ambassador, and "tell you, that he is making a great feast at Fort "Niagara; that his kettles are all ready, and his fires lit. "He invites you to partake of the feast, in common "with your friends, the Six Nations, which have all "made peace with the English. He advises you to "seize this opportunity of doing the same, as you can- "not otherwise fail of being destroyed; for the English "are on their march, with a great army, which will be "joined by different nations of Indians. In a word, be- "fore the fall of the leaf, they will be at Michilimacki- "nac, and the Six Nations with them."

The tenor of this speech greatly alarmed the Indians

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wares and Shawanoes of the Ohio valley, starting from Fort Pitt; and Bradstreet against the Indians of Detroit and the North-west, going by way of the Mohawk Valley, Oswego and Lake Ontario. It was determined to punish them until they gave an unconditional surrender. Some months previous to the setting out of the troops, Sir William Johnson had sent messengers to all the tribes warning them of the impending blow and urging all who were peacefully disposed, or who inclined to the British side, to meet him at Niagara. His name and reputation were known to all the tribes who had come in contact with the whites, and full powers were given him by the British Government. Henry's narrative of the reception of Johnson's messengers is exceedingly interesting as showing how the influence of the British was extending in spite of the temporary successes of Pontiac.

of the Sault, who, after a very short consultation, agreed to send twenty deputies to Sir William Johnson, at Niagara. This was a project highly interesting to me, since it offered me the means of leaving the country. I intimated this to the chief of the village, and received his promise that I should accompany the deputation.

Very little time was proposed to be lost, in setting forward on the voyage; but, the occasion was of too much magnitude not to call for more than human knowledge and discretion; and preparations were accordingly made for solemnly invoking and consulting the GREAT TURTLE.

CHAPTER XXI.

Preparations for invoking the GREAT TURTLE.—*His voice is heard—He is questioned. His replies. Voyage to Fort Niagara commenced.*

FOR invoking and consulting the Great Turtle the first thing to be done was the building of a large house or wigwam, within which was placed a species of tent, for the use of the priest, and reception of the spirit.[1] The tent was formed of moose-skins, hung over a frame-work of wood. Five poles, or rather pillars, of five different species of timber, about ten feet in height, and eight inches in diameter were set in a circle of about four feet in diameter. The holes made to receive them were about two feet deep; and the pillars being set, the holes were filled up again, with the earth which had been dug out. At top, the pillars were bound together by a circular hoop, or girder. Over the whole of this edifice were spread the moose-skins, cover-

[1] Among the guardian spirits of the Ojibwas, the first place was occupied by the Tortoise or Turtle. Their mystery or medicine men were divided into three classes, the Midi, the Jessakkid, and the Wabeno, to the first of which the officiating priest belonged. A very minute account of the mysteries and secret ceremonies practised by the Ojibwas has been published by W. J. Hoffman in the *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1885–6; and a careful study of the cults of the Dakotas and Assiniboins, by J. O. Dorsey, in the same reports for 1889–90.

ing it at top and round the sides, and made fast with thongs of the same; except that on one side a part was left unfastened to admit of the entrance of the priest.

The ceremonies did not commence but with the approach of night. To give light within the house, several fires were kindled round the tent. Nearly the whole village assembled in the house, and myself among the rest. It was not long before the priest appeared, almost in a state of nakedness. As he approached the tent the skins were lifted up, as much as was necessary to allow of his creeping under them, on his hands and knees. His head was scarcely within side, when the edifice, massy as it has been described, began to shake; and the skins were no sooner let fall, than the sounds of numerous voices were heard beneath them; some yelling; some barking as dogs; some howling like wolves; and in this horrible concert were mingled screams and sobs, as of despair, anguish and the sharpest pain. Articulate speech was also uttered, as if from human lips: but in a tongue unknown to any of the audience.

After some time, these confused and frightful noises were succeeded by a perfect silence; and now a voice, not heard before, seemed to manifest the arrival of a new character in the tent. This was a low and feeble voice, resembling the cry of a young puppy. The sound was no sooner distinguished, than all the Indians clapped their hands for joy, exclaiming, that this was the Chief Spirit, the TURTLE, the spirit that never lied! Other voices, which they had discriminated from time to time, they had previously hissed, as recognising them to belong to evil and lying spirits, which deceive mankind.

New sounds came from the tent. During the space of half an hour, a succession of songs were heard, in which a diversity of voices met the ear. From his first entrance, till these songs were finished, we heard nothing in the proper voice of the priest; but, now, he addressed the multitude, declaring the presence of the GREAT TURTLE, and the spirit's readiness to answer such questions as should be proposed.

The questions were to come from the chief of the village, who was silent, however, till after he had put a large quantity of tobacco into the tent, introducing it at the aperture. This was a sacrifice, offered to the spirit; for spirits are supposed by the Indians to be as fond of tobacco as themselves. The tobacco accepted, he desired the priest to inquire, Whether or not the English were preparing to make war upon the Indians? and, Whether or not there were at Fort Niagara a large number of English troops?

These questions having been put by the priest, the tent instantly shook; and for some seconds after, it continued to rock so violently, that I expected to see it levelled with the ground. All this was a prelude, as I supposed, to the answers to be given; but, a terrific cry announced, with sufficient intelligibility, the departure of the TURTLE.

A quarter of an hour elapsed in silence, and I waited impatiently to discover what was to be the next incident, in this scene of imposture. It consisted in the return of the spirit, whose voice was again heard, and who now delivered a continued speech. The language of the GREAT TURTLE, like that which we had heard

before, was wholly unintelligible to every ear, that of his priest excepted; and it was, therefore, that not till the latter gave us an interpretation, which did not commence before the spirit had finished, that we learned the purport of this extraordinary communication.

The spirit, as we were now informed by the priest, had, during his short absence, crossed Lake Huron, and even proceeded as far as Fort Niagara, which is at the head of Lake Ontario, and thence to Montréal. At Fort Niagara, he had seen no great number of soldiers; but, on descending the Saint Lawrence, as low as Montréal, he had found the river covered with boats, and the boats filled with soldiers, in number like the leaves of the trees. He had met them on their way up the river, coming to make war upon the Indians.

The chief had a third question to propose, and the spirit, without a fresh journey to Fort Niagara, was able to give it an instant and most favourable answer: "If," said the chief, "the Indians visit Sir William "Johnson, will they be received as friends?"

"Sir William Johnson," said the spirit (and after the spirit, the priest), "Sir William Johnson will fill their "canoes with presents; with blankets, kettles, guns, "gun-powder and shot, and large barrels of rum, such "as the stoutest of the Indians will not be able to lift; and every man will return in safety to his family."

At this, the transport was universal; and, amid the clapping of hands, a hundred voices exclaimed, "I will go, too! I will go, too!"

The questions of public interest being resolved, individuals were now permitted to seize the opportunity of inquiring into the condition of their absent friends, and the fate of such as were sick. I observed that the answers, given to these questions, allowed of much latitude of interpretation.

Amid this general inquisitiveness, I yielded to the solicitations of my own anxiety for the future; and having first, like the rest, made my offering of tobacco, I inquired, whether or not I should ever revisit my native country? The question being put by the priest, the tent shook as usual; after which I received this answer: "That I should take courage, and fear no dan-"ger, for that nothing would happen to hurt me; and "that I should, in the end, reach my friends and "country in safety." These assurances wrought so strongly on my gratitude, that I presented an additional and extra offering of tobacco.

The GREAT TURTLE continued to be consulted till near midnight, when all the crowd dispersed to their respective lodges. I was on the watch, through the scene I have described, to detect the particular contrivances by which the fraud was carried on; but, such was the skill displayed in the performance, or such my deficiency of penetration, that I made no discoveries, but came away as I went, with no more than those general surmises which will naturally be entertained by every reader.*

* M. de Champlain has left an account of an exhibition of the nature here described, which may be seen in Charlevoix's Histoire et Description Generale de la Nouvelle France, livre

On the 10th of June, I embarked with the Indian deputation, composed of sixteen men. Twenty had been the number originally designed; and upward of fifty actually engaged themselves to the council for the undertaking; to say nothing of the general enthusiasm, at the moment of hearing the GREAT TURTLE'S promises. But, exclusively of the degree of timidity which still prevailed, we are to take into account the various domestic calls, which might supersede all others, and detain many with their families.

IV. This took place in the year 1609, and was performed among a party of warriors, composed of Algonquins, Montagnez and Hurons. Carver witnessed another, among the Cristinaux. In each case, the details are somewhat different, but the outline is the same. M. de Champlain mentions, that he saw the *jongleur* shake the stakes or pillars of the tent. I was not so fortunate; but this is the obvious explanation of that part of the mystery to which it refers. Captain Carver leaves the whole in darkness.

CHAPTER XXII.

Voyage from the Sault de Sainte-Marie to Niagara. Hospitable reception from the Missisakies. Author alarmed by a Rattle-snake—and is about to kill it. Indians interfere—declare it to be a Manito —treat it accordingly. Inoffensive demeanour of the Rattle-snake. Indians apprehend some evil from the Author's crime against the Manito. Overtaken by a gale of wind. Prayers and Sacrifices to the Rattle-snake. Arrive at Fort Niagara.

IN the evening of the second day of our voyage, we reached the mouth of the Missisaki, where we found about forty Indians, by whom we were received with abundant kindness, and at night regaled at a great feast, held on account of our arrival. The viand was a preparation of the roe of the sturgeon, beat up, and boiled, and of the consistence of porridge.

After eating, several speeches were made to us, of which the general topic was a request, that we should recommend the village to Sir William Johnson. This request was also specially addressed to me, and I promised to comply with it.

On the 14th of June, we passed the village of La Cloche, of which the greater part of the inhabitants were absent, being already on a visit to Sir William Johnson. This circumstance greatly encouraged the

companions of my voyage, who now saw that they were not the first to run into danger.

The next day, about noon, the wind blowing very hard, we were obliged to put ashore at Point aux Grondines, a place of which some description has been given above.[1] While the Indians erected a hut, I employed myself in making a fire. As I was gathering wood, an unusual sound fixed my attention for a moment; but, as it presently ceased, and as I saw nothing from which I could suppose it to proceed, I continued my employment, till, advancing further, I was alarmed by a repetition. I imagined that it came from above my head; but, after looking that way in vain, I cast my eyes on the ground, and there discovered a rattle-snake, at not more than two feet from my naked legs. The reptile was coiled, and its head raised considerably above its body. Had I advanced another step before my discovery, I must have trodden upon it.

I no sooner saw the snake, than I hastened to the canoe, in order to procure my gun; but, the Indians observing what I was doing, inquired the occasion, and being informed, begged me to desist. At the same time they followed me to the spot, with their pipes and tobacco-pouches in their hands. On returning, I found the snake still coiled.

The Indians, on their part, surrounded it, all addressing it by turns, and calling it their *grandfather*; but yet keeping at some distance. During this part of the ceremony, they filled their pipes; and now each blew

[1] *Ante*, page 33.

the smoke toward the snake, who, as it appeared to me, really received it with pleasure. In a word, after remaining coiled, and receiving incense, for the space of half an hour, it stretched itself along the ground, in visible good humour. Its length was between four and five feet. Having remained outstretched for some time, at last it moved slowly away, the Indians following it, and still addressing it by the title of grandfather, beseeching it to take care of their families during their absence, and to be pleased to open the heart of Sir William Johnson, so that he might show them charity, and fill their canoe with rum.

One of the chiefs added a petition, that the snake would take no notice of the insult which had been offered him by the Englishman, who would even have put him to death, but for the interference of the Indians, to whom it was hoped he would impute no part of the offence. They further requested, that he would remain, and inhabit their country, and not return among the English; that is, go eastward.[2]

After the rattle-snake was gone, I learned that

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[2] The reverence paid by the Ojibwa to the rattle-snake, as grandfather and king of snakes, is evidently a survival of serpent worship common to all undeveloped races. All the Indian tribes preserved some form of it, and among the Dakotas and Shawanoes, the same word was used for snake and spirit. The strange snake dances of the Zuni have recently been examined by scientific observers from the Smithsonian Institute. Those interested in the subject will find references in *Tylor's Primitive Culture*, vol. 2, 1873; *Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1868. *Brinton's Myths of the New World*, 1876; *Gubernatus' Zoological Mythology*, 1874.

this was the first time that an individual of the species had been seen so far to the northward and westward of the river Des Francais,[3] a circumstance, moreover, from which my companions were disposed to infer, that this *manito* had come, or been sent, on purpose to meet them; that his errand had been no other than to stop them on their way; and that consequently it would be most advisable to return to the point of departure. I was so fortunate, however, as to prevail with them to embark; and at six o'clock in the evening we again encamped. Very little was spoken of through the evening, the rattle-snake excepted.

Early the next morning we proceeded. We had a serene sky and very little wind, and the Indians therefore determined on steering across the lake, to an island which just appeared in the horizon; saving, by this course, a distance of thirty miles, which would be lost in keeping the shore.[4] At nine o'clock, A.M.

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[3] I am informed by Dr. Brodie, that there is no evidence of the existence of rattle-snakes at Point aux Grondines, but that specimens have been secured from the mouth of the French river and from various points on Manitoulin Island, all of which are within twenty miles of the place where Henry was camped. The true rattle-snake *Crotalus horridus*, is unknown in Canada, the variety found is the *Caudisona tirguemina*.

[4] Mr. W. J. Stewart, of the Canadian Hydrographic Survey, informs me that a direct line from Point aux Grondines to Matchedash Bay measures 92 miles, whilst the passage inside of the outer islands would not be more than 105 miles. By the direct course the traveller would never be more than 11 miles from shore, almost always less than 5 miles. Lonely island is just

we had a light breeze astern, to enjoy the benefit of which we hoisted sail. Soon after, the wind increased, and the Indians, beginning to be alarmed, frequently called on the rattle-snake to come to their assistance. By degrees the waves grew high; and at 11 o'clock it blew a hurricane, and we expected every moment to be swallowed up. From prayers, the Indians now proceeded to sacrifices, both alike offered to the god-rattlesnake, or *manito-kinibic*.[5] One of the chiefs took a dog, and after tying its fore legs together, threw it overboard, at the same time calling on the snake to preserve us from being drowned, and desiring him to satisfy his hunger with the carcass of the dog. The snake was unpropitious, and the wind increased. Another chief sacrificed another dog, with the addition of some tobacco. In the prayer which accompanied these gifts, he besought the snake, as before, not to avenge upon the Indians the insult which he had received from myself, in the conception of a design to put him to death. He assured the snake, that I was absolutely an Englishman, and of kin neither to him nor to them.

At the conclusion of this speech, an Indian, who sat near me, observed, that if we were drowned it would be for my fault alone, and that I ought myself

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visible from Point aux Grondines, but it is a long way out of the course. It is probable that the island to which they directed their course was one of the many thousands which fringe the shore of the Georgian Bay.

[5] *Manito*, spirit; *Ginébig*, snake; Baraga. *Muhnedoo*, spirit; *Kinabig*, snake; Wilson.

to be sacrificed, to appease the angry manito; nor was I without apprehensions, that in case of extremity, this would be my fate; but, happily for me, the storm at length abated, and we reached the island safely.

The next day was calm, and we arrived at the entrance* of the navigation[6] which leads to Lake aux Claies.† We presently passed two short carrying-places, at each of which were several lodges of Indians,‡ containing only women and children, the men

* This is the Bay of Matchedash, or Matchitashk.

† This lake, which is now called Lake Simcoe, lies between Lakes Huron and Ontario.

‡ These Indians are Chipeways, of the particular description called Missisakies; and from their residence at Matchedash, or Matchitashk, also called Matchedash or Matchitashk Indians.

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[6] The route from Matchedash Bay is by the Severn river, which is about twenty miles long, through which the waters of Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching are discharged into Lake Huron. Laurence Oliphant, in his *Minnesota and the Far West*, 1885, p. 50, gives a graphic picture of the passage down. Lake Couchiching, which lies between the entrance to the Severn and the north end of Lake Simcoe, is thirteen miles long and Lake Simcoe about twenty-seven miles. In the early French maps it is called the Lac de Taranto and the Taranto portage was said to commence at Matchedash Bay. This name was gradually transferred to the southern part of the portage and finally to the shore of Lake Ontario. The name, aux Claies, was derived from the hurdles or stakes used in the construction of fish traps in the shallow portions of the lake. Champlain, in the journey of 1615, first described them. "This is done by means of a large number of stakes which almost close the strait, only some little opening being left where they place nets, in which the fish are caught."

being gone to the council at Niagara. From this, as from a former instance, my companions derived new courage.

On the 18th of June, we crossed Lake aux Claies, which appeared to be upward of twenty miles in length. At its further end, we came to the carrying-place of Toranto.* Here the Indians obliged me to carry a burden of more than a hundred pounds weight. The day was very hot, and the woods and marshes abounded with mosquitoes; but, the Indians walked at a quick pace, and I could by no means see myself left behind. The whole country was a thick forest, through which our only road was a foot-path, or such as, in America, is exclusively termed an *Indian path.*[7]

Next morning, at ten o'clock, we reached the shore of Lake Ontario. Here we were employed two days in

* Toranto, or Toronto, is the name of a French trading-house, on Lake Ontario, built near the site of the present town of York, the capital of the province of Upper Canada.

[7] This portage commenced at the termination of navigable water in the Holland river, which flows into the southern end of Lake Simcoe, and was a well-known trail between the upper lakes and Lake Ontario, not far from the present line of Yonge street. It is laid down on a map in the Dépôt de la Marine, Paris, of not later date than 1679, with these words, "Le Chemin par ou les Iroquois vont aux Outaouais qu, ils avaient mené trafiqeur à la Nouvelle-Holland si le fort Frontenac n'eut esté basti sur leur route." The southern termination is at the mouth of the Humber river, near the site of the French trading post, Fort Rouillé which was abandoned in 1759. A monument in the western portion of the city of Toronto marks its site.

making canoes, out of the bark of the elm-tree, in which we were to transport ourselves to Niagara. For this purpose, the Indians first cut down a tree; then stripped off the bark, in one entire sheet, of about eighteen feet in length, the incision being lengthwise. The canoe was now complete, as to its top, bottom and sides. Its ends were next closed, by sewing the bark together; and a few ribs and bars being introduced, the architecture was finished. In this manner, we made two canoes; of which one carried eight men, and the other, nine.

On the 21st, we embarked at Toranto, and encamped, in the evening, four miles short of Fort Niagara, which the Indians would not approach till morning.

At dawn, the Indians were awake, and presently assembled in council, still doubtful as to the fate they were to encounter. I assured them of the most friendly welcome; and at length, after painting themselves with the most lively colours, in token of their own peaceable views, and after singing the song which is in use among them on going into danger, they embarked, and made for Point Missisaki,[8] which is on the north side of the mouth of the river or strait of Niagara, as the fort is on the south. A few minutes after, I crossed over to the fort; and here I was received by Sir William Johnson, in a manner for which

[8] Point Missisaga is on the western side of the river, and Fort Niagara on the eastern. The course of the Niagara river is nearly north, so that it is not easy to see how Henry calls them north and south.

I have ever been gratefully attached to his person, and memory.[9]

Thus was completed my escape, from the sufferings

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[9] Sir William Johnson exercised a wonderful influence over the Six Nations and Indian tribes to the West, and seems to have inspired confidence and friendship in all Englishmen who came in contact with him. He writes to the Lords of Trade, London, under date, August 30th, 1764, "In my last of the 11th of May, I had the honour of acquainting your Lordpps with the success of my Indian partys, and my transactions from January to that period, as also, of my then intended journey to Niagara, to receive the submission of, and enter into an alliance with the Western Nations, who had requested peace. Accordingly I set out last June, and arrived at Niagara the 8th of July, where I found some of the Western Nations already assembled. At the same ime Coll: Bradstreet arrived with the army under his Command, to accompany which I had brought upwards of six hundred of the Friend Indians. By the 25th I had Deputys from almost every nation to the Westward, viz., Hurons, Ottawaes, Chippawaes, Meynomineys or Folles avoins, Foxes, Sakis, Puans, ettc., with some from the North side of Lake Superior and the neighbourhood of Hudson's Bay, but it was not till some days after that, the Senecas came in, a report having prevailed among them that the English intended to cut them off. This delay of theirs, which at first we were at a loss to account for, rendered it impolitic for the Troops to move, and leave the carrying place exposed, until we had settled matters with them; the whole number of the Indians amounted to 2,060, of which 1,700 were fighting men, a greater number than ever assembled in one body on the like, or any other occasion." Among the conditions of the peace were "their agreeing to the re-establishment of Michilimackinac and promising to get all prisoners out of the enemy's hands, as also to procure some restitution for the Traders' losses." See *Stone's Life of Sir William Johnson*, 2 vols., 1865; and *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. 7.

and dangers which the capture of Fort Michilimackinac brought upon me; but, the property which I had carried into the upper country was left behind. The reader will therefore be far from attributing to me any idle or unaccountable motive, when he finds me returning to the scene of my misfortunes.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Army, under General Bradstreet, prepares to raise the Siege of Détroit. Author induced to join, and set out, a second time, for Michilimackinac—appointed to the command of an Indian Corps. Siege of Détroit raised. General Peace with the Indians. Detachment garrisons Fort Michilimackinac. Author visits the Sault de Sainte-Marie—returns to Michilimackinac.

AT Fort Niagara, I found General Bradstreet, with a force of three thousand men, preparing to embark for Détroit, with a view to raise the siege which it had sustained against Pontiac, for twelve months together. The English, in this time, had lost many men; and Pontiac had been frequently on the point of carrying the place, though gallantly defended by Major Gladwyn, its commandant.

General Bradstreet, having learned my history, informed me, that it was his design, on arriving at Détroit, to detach a body of troops to Michilimackinac, and politely assured me of his services, in recovering my property there. With these temptations before me, I was easily induced to follow the general to Détroit.

But, I was not to go as a mere looker-on. On the contrary, I was invested with the honour of a command in a corps, of the exploits, however, of which, I can give no very flattering account.

Besides the sixteen Saulteurs, or Chipeways of the Sault de Sainte-Marie, with whom I had come to Fort Niagara, there were already at that place eighty Matchedash Indians, the same whose lodges we passed, at the carrying-places of Lake aux Claies. These ninety-six men being formed into what was called the Indian Battalion, were furnished with necessaries; and I was appointed to be their leader—me, whose best hope it had very lately been, to live through their forbearance

On the 10th of July, the army marched for Fort Schlausser,[1] a stockaded post above the Great Falls; and I ordered my Indians to march also. Only ten, of the whole number, were ready at the call; but the rest promised to follow the next morning. With my skeleton-battalion, therefore, I proceeded to the fort, and there waited the whole of the next day, impatiently expecting the remainder. I waited in vain; and the day following returned to Fort Niagara, when I found that they had all deserted, going back to their homes, equipments and all, by the way of Toranto. I thought their conduct, though dishonest, not very extraordinary; since the Indians employed in the seige of

[1] Fort Schlosser was built by the British in 1759 to command the upper end of the portage round the Falls of Niagara. It stood immediately above the rapids, on what is now the American side, at the nearest point to the Falls where the current permitted boats to be brought. The fort was named after Captain Joseph Schlosser, a native of Germany, who served in the British army against Fort Niagara, 1759. Both Loskiel and Heckewelder speak highly of him. The fort was destroyed by the Canadian militia during the war of 1813.

Détroit, against whom we were leading them, were at peace with their nation, and their own friends and kinsmen.—Amid the general desertion, four Missisakies joined the ten whom I had left at Fort Schlausser.

For the transport of the army, on Lake Erie, barges had been expressly built, capable of carrying a hundred men each, with their provisions. One of these was allowed to me and my Indians.

On the 14th, we embarked at Fort Schlausser, and in the evening encamped at Fort Erie. Here the Indians growing drunk, amused themselves with a disorderly firing of their muskets, in the camp. On this, General Bradstreet ordered all the rum in the Indian quarters to be seized, and thrown away. The Indians, in consequence threatened to desert; and the general, judging it proper to assume a high tone, immediately assembled the chiefs (for, among the fourteen Indians, there were more chiefs than one), and told them, that he had no further occasion for their services, and that such of them as should follow his camp, would be considered as soldiers, and subjected to military discipline accordingly. After hearing the general's speech, the majority set out for Fort Niagara, the same evening, and thence returned to their own country, by the way of Toranto; and thus was my poor battalion still further diminished!

On our fifth day from Fort Schlausser, we reached Presqu'isle, where we dragged our barges over the neck of land, but not without straining their timbers; and with more loss of time, as I believe, than if we had rowed round. On the twentieth day, we were off the

mouth of the river which falls into Sandusky Bay, where a council of war was held, on the question, whether it were more advisable to attack and destroy the Indian villages, on the Miami, or to proceed for Détroit direct. Early the next morning, it having been determined, that considering the villages were populous, as well as hostile, it was necessary to destroy them, we entered the Miami; but were presently met by a deputation, offering peace. The offer was accepted; but it was not till after two days, during which we had begun to be doubtful of the enemy's intention, that the chiefs arrived. When they came, a sort of armistice was agreed upon; and they promised to meet the general at Détroit, within fifteen days. At that place, terms of peace were to be settled, in a general council.[2] On the 8th of August we landed at Détroit.

The Indians of the Miami were punctual; and a

[2] Henry passes lightly over a piece of folly on the part of Bradstreet. The deputation of Shawanoes and Delawares who met them here, produced no evidence of their being authorized to treat, and as it turned out were only a band of warriors, whose object was to retard the advance of Bradstreet's army. These tribes had sent an insolent reply to Johnson's invitation to the meeting at Niagara and were guilty of innumerable murders and cruelties. It had been determined to punish them severely. Bradstreet fell into the trap, signed a preliminary treaty and crowned all by writing to his superior officer, Colonel Bouquet, who was advancing into the heart of the enemy's country, informing him that he had made a peace. The power of treaty was only possessed by Sir William Johnson and both Bouquet and he were very indignant. The Commander-in-chief wrote to Bradstreet in very strong terms, annulling and disavowing the peace.

general peace was concluded. Pontiac, who could do nothing against the force which was now opposed to him, and who saw himself abandoned by his followers, unwilling to trust his fortunes with the English, fled to the Illinois.*

On the day following that of the treaty of peace, Captain Howard was detached, with two companies, and three hundred Canadian volunteers, for Fort Michilimackinac; and I embarked at the same time.

From Détroit, to the mouth of Lake Huron, is called a distance of eighty miles. From the fort to Lake Sainte-Claire, which is only seven miles, the lands are

* It is very possible, nevertheless, that Pontiac subsequently joined the English, and that a portion of what is related by Carver, concerning his latter history and death, is true. It cannot, however, be intended to insinuate that an English governor was party to the assassination:

"Pontiac henceforward seemed to have laid aside the "animosity he had hitherto born towards the English, and "apparently became their zealous friend. To reward this new "attachment, and to insure a continuance of it, government "allowed him a handsome pension. But his restless and "intriguing spirit would not suffer him to be grateful for this "allowance, and his conduct at length grew suspicious; so that "going, in the year 1767, to hold a council in the country of "the Illinois, a faithful Indian, who was either commissioned "by one of the English governors, or instigated by the love he "bore the English nation, attended him as a spy; and being "convinced from the speech Pontiac made in the council, that "he still retained his former prejudices against those for whom "he now professed a friendship, he plunged his knife into his "heart, as soon as he had done speaking, and laid him dead on "the spot."

cultivated on both sides the strait, and appeared to be laid out in very comfortable farms. In the strait, on the right hand, is a village of Hurons, and at the mouth of Lake Saint-Claire, a village of Otawas.[3] We met not a single Indian on our voyage, the report of the arrival of the English army having driven every one from the shores of the lake.

On our arrival at Michilimackinac, the Otawas of L'Arbre Croche were sent for to the fort. They obeyed the summons, bringing with them some Chipeway chiefs, and peace was concluded with both.

For myself, having much property due to me at Sainte-Marie's, I resolved on spending the winter at that place. I was in part successful; and in the spring I returned to Michilimackinac.

THE pause, which I shall here make in my narrative might with some propriety have been placed at the conclusion of the preceding chapter; but, it is here that my first series of adventures are brought truly to an end. What remains, belongs to a second enterprize, wholly independent on the preceding.

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[3] Both of these villages appear on Bellin's map of *Des Lacs du Canada*, 1744, included in *Charlevoix's Journal*, vol. 5, p. 108.

END OF PART THE FIRST.

PART THE SECOND.

TRAVELS

AND ADVENTURES,

&c. &c.

PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

Fur-trade permitted only to licensed and privileged persons. Author obtains the exclusive trade of Lake Superior. Further commercial details of Michilimackinac. Author proceeds to the Sault de Sainte-Marie— embarks for his Wintering-ground at Chagouemig. Grave of the Iroquois —tradition. River Ontonagan — Sturgeon-fishery—and Copper. Indians beat the Copper into Spoons, Bracelets, &c. Chagouemig—distressed state of Indians there. Indians supplied— go to the chase.

UNDER the French government of Canada, the fur-trade was subject to a variety of regulations, established and enforced by the royal authority; and, in 1765, the period at which I began to prosecute it anew, some remains of the ancient system were still preserved. No person could go into the countries lying north-westward of Détroit, unless furnished with a license; and

the exclusive trade of particular districts was capable of being enjoyed, in virtue of grants from military commanders.

The exclusive trade of Lake Superior was given to myself, by the commandant of Fort Michilimackinac; and to prosecute it, I purchased goods, which I found at this post, at twelve months' credit. My stock was the freight of four canoes, and I took it at the price of ten thousand pounds weight of good and merchantable beaver. It is in beaver that accounts are kept at Michilimackinac; but in defect of this article, other furs and skins are accepted in payments, being first reduced unto their value in beaver. Beaver was at this time at the price of two shillings and six pence per pound, Michilimackinac-currency; otter skins, at six shillings each; marten, at one shilling and six pence, and others in proportion.

To carry the goods to my wintering-ground in Lake Superior, I engaged twelve men, at two hundred and fifty livres, of the same currency, each; that is, a hundred pounds weight of beaver. For provisions, I purchased fifty bushels of maize, at ten pounds of beaver per bushel. At this place, specie was so wholly out of the question, that is going to a cantine,[1] you took with you a marten's skin, to pay your reckoning.*

On the 14th of July, 1765, I embarked for the Sault de Sainte-Marie, where, on my arrival, I took into partnership M. Cadotte, whom I have already had

*See Part I., Chapter 5.

[1] Canteen belonging to the garrison.

frequent occasion to name; and on the 26th I proceeded for my wintering-ground, which was to be fixed at Chagouemig.

The next morning, I crossed the Strait of Sainte-Marie, or of Lake Superior, to a point, which the Chipeways call the Grave of the Iroquois.[2] To this name there belongs a tradition, that the Iroquois, who, at a certain time, made war upon the Chipeways, with the design of dispossessing them of their country, encamped, one night, a thousand strong, upon this point; where, thinking themselves secure from their numbers, they indulged in feasting on the bodies of their prisoners. The sight, however, of the sufferings and humiliation of their kindred and friends, so wrought upon the Chipeways, who beheld them from

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On the south side of Lake Superior, about fifteen miles west of Sault Ste. Marie, in the present county of Chippewa, Michigan. The name Iroquois has adhered to this locality under the different descriptions of Cape, Mountain or Point, by which latter it is now known. Schoolcraft gives the Indian name as *Na-do-wa-we-gon-ing*, the place of Iroquois bones. It marks the site of a severe defeat which the Iroquois received in 1662, from the Ojibwa, assisted by some Ottawas, Nipissings and Amikouëts. A party of about one hundred Iroquois had pushed forward to the shores of Lake Superior and encamped on this point. A night attack was made on them by the allies. The arrows was showered upon the Iroquois so rapidly that they were overpowered and were tomahawked within their wigwams. The Iroquois were at this time at the height of their power, so that this reverse to their mortal enemies was welcome tidings to the French. See, *Jesuit Relation*, 1663; *Perrot's Memoire, edited by Père Tailhan*, Leipzic, 1864; *Schoolcraft's Thirty Years with Indian Tribes*, p. 112, Philadelphia, 1851.

the opposite shore, that with the largest number of warriors they could collect, but which amounted only to three hundred, they crossed the channel, and at break of day fell upon the Iroquois, now sleeping after their excesses, and put one and all to death. Of their own party, they lost but a single man; and he died of a wound which he received from an old woman, who stabbed him with an awl. She was at work, making shoes for the family, when he broke into the lodge, near the entrance of which she sat.—Some of the old men of my crew remembered at this place to have seen bones.

On the lake, we fell in with Indians, of whom I purchased provisions. One party agreed to accompany me, to hunt for me, on condition of being supplied with necessaries on credit.

On the 19th of August, we reached the mouth of the river Ontonagan,[3] one of the largest on the south side of the lake. At the mouth, was an Indian village; and at three leagues above, a fall, at the foot of which sturgeon were at this season so abundant, that a month's subsistence for a regiment could have been taken in a few hours.

But, I found this river chiefly remarkable for the abundance of virgin copper,[4] which is on its banks and

[3] The city, river and county in Michigan have preserved this name under the slightly altered form of Ontonagon. Earlier forms of the name are Nantaouagaw, Ontonagun.

[4] The abundance of detached and water-worn lumps of virgin copper was first noted in the Relation of 1659-60. They were found not only in the immediate vicinity of the mines but over a considerable area to the southward.

in its neighborhood, and of which the reputation is at present more generally spread, than it was at the time of this my first visit. The attempts, which were shortly after made, to work the mines of Lake Superior to advantage, will very soon claim a place, among the facts which I am to describe.

The copper presented itself to the eye, in masses of various weight. The Indians showed me one of twenty pounds. They were used to manufacture this metal into spoons and bracelets for themselves. In the perfect state in which they found it, it required nothing but to be beat into shape. The Pi-wâ-tic, or Iron-river,[5] enters the lake to the westward of the Ontonagan; and here, as is pretended, silver was found, while the country was in the possession of the French.

[Beyond this river, I met more Indians, whom I furnished with merchandise on credit. The prices were for a stroud blanket, ten beaver-skins; for a white blanket, eight; a pound of powder, two; a pound of shot, or of ball, one; a gun, twenty; an axe, of one pound weight, two; a knife, one.—Beaver, it will be remembered, was worth, at Michilimackinac, two shillings and sixpence a pound, in the currency of that place; that is, six livres, or a dollar.]

On my arrival at Chagouemig,[6] I found fifty lodges

[5] The river is still known by this name, but the Indian name, *Pi-wâ-tic*, seems to be abandoned.

[6] This bay is now known as Chequamegon. It partially divides Bayfield from Ashland County, Wisconsin. From the earliest time, it appears to have been a gathering-place of the Indians.

of Indians there. These people were almost naked, their trade having been interrupted, first by the English invasion of Canada, and next by Pontiac's war.

Adding the Indians of Chagouemig to those which I had brought with me, I had now a hundred families, to all of whom I was required to advance goods on credit. At a council, which I was invited to attend, the men declared, that unless their demands were complied with, their wives and children would perish; for that there were neither ammunition nor clothing left among them. Under these circumstances, I saw myself obliged to distribute goods, to the amount of three thousand beaver-skins. This done, the Indians went on their hunt, at the distance of a hundred leagues. A clerk, acting as my agent, accompanied them to Fond du Lac,[7] taking with him two loaded canoes. Meanwhile, at the expense of six days' labour, I was provided with a very comfortable house, for my winter's residence.

Generally speaking, this corresponds with the present City of Duluth, Minnesota, though a railway junction, a few miles south-west of the city and near the head of the bay, retains the name Fond du Lac.

CHAPTER II.

Chagouemig. Hunt. Feast of Sacrifice to the Great Spirit—motives—and mode. Ludicrous incident. Comment of the Indians. Chipeway Campaign against the Nadowessies. Scalping the killed in battle esteemed honourable to the Nation to whom they belong. Author leaves Chagouemig—further explores the Banks of the Ontonagan.

CHAGOUEMIG, or Chagouemigon, might at this period be regarded as the metropolis of the Chipeways, of whom the true name is *O'chibbuoy*. The chiefs informed me, that they had frequently attacked the Nadowessies, (by the French called *Sioux* or *Nadouessioux*), with whom they are always at war. with fifteen hundred men, including in this number the fighting-men from Fond du Lac, or the head of Lake Superior. The cause of the perpetual war, carried on between these two nations, is this, that both claim, as their exclusive hunting-ground, the tract of country which lies between them, and uniformly attack each other when they meet upon it.

The Chipeways of Chagouemig are a handsome well-made people; and much more cleanly, as well as much more regular in the government of their families, than the Chipeways of Lake Huron. The women have agreeable features, and take great pains in dressing

their hair, which consists in neatly dividing it on the forehead and top of the head, and in plaiting and turning it up behind. The men paint as well their whole body as their face; sometimes with charcoal, and sometimes with white ochre; and appear to study how to make themselves as unlike as possible to anything human. The clothing, in which I found them, both men and women, was chiefly of dressed deer-skin, European manufactures having been for some time out of their reach. In this respect, it was not long, after my goods were dispersed among them, before they were scarcely to be known, for the same people. The women heightened the colour of their cheeks, and really animated their beauty, by a liberal use of vermilion.

My house being completed, my winter's food was the next object; and for this purpose, with the assistance of my men, I soon took two thousand trout and white-fish, the former frequently weighing fifty pounds each, and the latter commonly from four to six. We preserved them by suspending them by the tail in the open air. These, without bread or salt, were our food through all the winter; the men being free to consume what quantity they pleased, and boiling or roasting them whenever they thought proper. After leaving Michilimackinac. I saw no bread; and I found less difficultv, in reconciling myself to the privation, than I could have anticipated.

On the 15th of December, the Bay of Chagouemig was frozen entirely over. After this, I resumed my former amusement of spearing trout, and sometimes caught a hundred of these fish in a day, each weighing, on an average, twenty pounds.

My house, which stood in the bay, was sheltered by an island of fifteen miles in length,[1] and between which and the main the channel is four miles broad. On the island, there was formerly a French trading-post, much frequented[2]; and in its neighbourhood a large Indian village. To the south-east is a lake, called Lake des Outaouais, from the Otawas, its former possessors; but it is now the property of the Chipeways.

From the first hunting-party which brought me furs, I experienced some disorderly behaviour; but happily without serious issue. Having crowded into my house, and demanded rum, which I refused them, they talked of indulging themselves in a general pillage, and I found myself abandoned by all my men. Fortunately, I was able to arm myself; and on my threatening to

[1] La Pointe or Madeline Island is about two miles from the mainland and three from Bayfield, Wisconsin. A large party of the Ojibwa, after many migrations had settled upon the western end of the island, forming a large town, many years before their discovery by the French. They gave to it the name Mo-ning-wun-a-kawn-ing. Warren who was a native of the place, has given the fullest particulars in his *History of the Ojibways, Minnesota Hist. Society, Vol. 5.*

[2] The one long called La Pointe. At this post the Jesuit Mission of St. Esprit was established and the peninsula appears upon the maps as La Pointe du St. Esprit. The Indian village in its vicinity was first visited by some coureurs des bois, trading for furs, and the first definite written account is by Father Allouez, who arrived in 1665 and remained for some time. In Delisle's map of 1745 a French trading house is indicated at the head of the bay. See *Jesuit Relations 1666 and 1667, Perrot's Memoire* and *Warren's History of the Ojibways.*

shoot the first who should lay his hands on anything, the tumult began to subside, and was presently after at an end. When over, my men appeared to be truly ashamed of their cowardice, and made promises never to behave in a similar manner again.

Admonished of my danger, I now resolved on burying the liquor which I had; and the Indians, once persuaded that I had none to give them, went and came very peaceably, paying their debts and purchasing goods. In the month of March, the manufacture of maple-sugar engaged as usual their attention.

While the snow still lay on the ground, I proposed to the Indians to join me in a hunting excursion, and they readily agreed. Shortly after we went out, my companions discovered dents or hollows in the snow, which they affirmed to be the footsteps of a bear, made in the beginning of the winter, after the first snow.—As for me, I should have passed over the same ground without acquiring any such information; and probably without remarking the very faint traces which they were able to distinguish, and certainly without deducing so many particular facts: but, what can be more credible, than that long habits of close observation in the forest, should give the Indian hunter some advantages, in the exercise of his daily calling? The Indians were not deceived; for, on following the traces which they had found, they were led to a tree, at the root of which was a bear.

As I had proposed this hunt, I was, by the Indian custom, the master and the proprietor of all the game; but, the head of the family which composed my party

begged to have the bear, alleging, that he much desired to make a feast to the Kichi Manito, or Great Spirit, who had preserved himself and his family through the winter, and brought them in safety to the lake. On his receiving my consent, the women went to the spot where we had killed the bear, and where the carcass had been left in safety, buried deep in the snow. They brought the booty back with them, and kettles being hung over the fires, the whole bear was dressed for the feast.

About an hour after dark, accompanied by four of my men, I repaired to the place of sacrifice, according to invitation. The number of the Indians exactly equalled ours, there being two men and three women; so that together we were ten persons, upon whom it was incumbent to eat up the whole bear. I was obliged to receive into my own plate, or dish, a portion of not less than ten pounds weight, and each of my men were supplied with twice this quantity. As to the Indians, one of them had to his share the head, the breast, the heart, with its surrounding fat, and all the four feet; and the whole of this he swallowed in two hours. He, as well as the rest, had finished before I had got through half my toil; and my men were equally behind-hand. In this situation, one of them resorted to an experiment which had a ludicrous issue, and which, at the same time, served to discover a fresh feature in the superstitions of the Indians. Having first observed to us, that a part of the cheer would be very acceptable to him the next day, when his appetite should be returned, he withdrew a part of the contents of his dish, and made it fast to the girdle which he wore

under his shirt. While he disposed in this manner of his superabundance, I, who found myself unable to perform my part, requested the Indians to assist me; and this they cheerfully did, eating what I had found too much, with as much apparent ease as if their stomachs had been previously empty. The feast being brought to an end, and the prayer and thanksgiving pronounced, those near the door departed; but, when the poor fellow who had concealed his meat, and who had to pass from the further end of the lodge, rose up to go, two dogs, guided by the scent, laid hold of the treasure, and tore it to the ground. The Indians were greatly astonished; but, presently observed, that the Great Spirit had led the dogs by inspiration to the act, in order to frustrate the profane attempt to steal away this portion of the offering. As matters stood, the course they took was to put the meat into the fire, and there consume it.

On the 20th of April, the ice broke up, and several canoes arrived, filled with women and children, who reported that the men of their band were all gone out to war, against the Nadowessies. On the 15th of May, a part of the warriors, with some others, arrived, in fifty canoes, almost every one of which had a cargo of furs. The warriors gave me some account of their campaign; stating, that they had set out in search of the enemy, four hundred strong; and that on the fourth day from their leaving their village, they had met the enemy, and been engaged in battle. The battle, as they related, raged the greater part of the day; and in the evening, the Nadowessies, to the number of six hundred, fell back, across a river which lay behind

them, encamping in this position for the night. The Chipeways had thirty-five killed; and they took advantage of the suspension of the fray, to *prepare the bodies* of their friends, and then retired to a small distance from the place, expecting the Nadowessies to recross the stream in the morning, and come again to blows. In this, however, they were disappointed; for the Nadowessies continued their retreat, without even doing the honours of war to the slain. To do these honours is to scalp; and to *prepare the bodies* is to dress and paint the remains of the dead, preparatorily to this mark of attention from the enemy: "The neglect," said the Chipeways, "was an affront to us—a disgrace; be-
"cause we consider it an honour, to have the scalps of
"our countrymen exhibited in the villages of our
"enemies, in testimony of our valour."

The concourse of Indians, already mentioned, with others who came after, all rich in furs, enabled me very speedily to close my traffic for the spring, disposing of all the goods, which, on taking M. Cadotte into partnership, had been left in my own hands. I found myself in possession of a hundred and fifty packs of beaver, weighing a hundred pounds each, besides twenty-five packs of otter and marten skins; and with this part of the fruits of my adventure, I embarked for Michilimackinac, sailing in company with fifty canoes of Indians, who had still a hundred packs of beaver, which I was unable to purchase.

On my way, I encamped a second time at the mouth of the Ontonagan, and now took the opportunity of going ten miles up the river, with Indian guides. The object, which I went most expressly to see, and to

which I had the satisfaction of being led, was a mass of copper, of the weight, according to my estimate, of no less than five ton. Such was its pure and malleable state, that with an axe I was able to cut off a portion, weighing a hundred pounds.[3] On viewing the sur-

[3] This mass of native copper appears to have been known to the Indians for a very long period. Pierre Boucher in his *Histoire Véritable et Naturelle*, Paris, 1664, says, "that the Frenchmen who went with Father Menard told me that they had seen a nugget of copper, at the end of a hill which weighed more than eight hundred pounds. They say that the Indians as they pass it make fires on top of it, and then hew pieces out with their axes." Talon, Intendant of Justice, writing from Quebec, to Colbert in Paris, November, 2, 1671: "The copper which I sent from Lake Superior and the river Nantaonagan (Ontonagon), proves that there is a mine on the border of some stream. More than twenty Frenchmen have seen a lump at the lake which they estimate weighs more than eight hundred pounds." David Thompson saw it in 1798. "As I was surveying this lake I went up the Ontonoggan River (by the United States called the Eagle River), to a mass of native copper, but with my small axe I could not get a piece of it. It lay below a cliff on the limestone shore of the river, and was much rounded by water." *Journals and Surveys; Report of Ontario Bureau of Mines*, 1893. At the conference in 1823 with the Ojibwa at Fond du Lac, for the purchase of these lands, one of the chiefs said in reference to the nugget of copper, "This 'Fathers,' is the property of no one man. It belongs alike to us. It was put there by the Great Spirit, and it is ours. In the life of my father, the British were busy working it. It was then big like that table. They tried to raise it to the top of the hill and they failed. They then said the copper was not in the rock, but in the banks of the river. They dug for it by a light working under ground. The earth fell in and killed three men. It was then left till now." In 1843 the

rounding surface, I conjectured that the mass, at some period or other, had rolled from the side of a lofty hill, which rises at its back.

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weight of this rock was estimated between 6,000 to 7,000 lbs., and its purity at 95 per cent., was removed to the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, at a cost of about $3,500. See *Whittlesey's Ancient Mining on the shores of Lake Superior, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. 13, and *Sir Daniel Wilson's Prehistoric Man*, London, 1865.

CHAPTER III.

Author winters at the Sault de Sainte-Marie, Scarcity of Provisions. The Man-eater.

I PASSED the winter following at the Sault de Sainte-Marie. Fish, at this place, are usually so abundant, in the autumn, that precautions are not taken for a supply of provisions for the winter; but, this year the fishery failed, and the early setting-in of the frost rendered it impracticable to obtain assistance from Michilimackinac. To the increase of our difficulties, five men, whom, on the prospect of distress, I had sent to subsist themselves at a distant post, came back, on the day before Christmas-day, driven in by want.

Under these circumstances, and having heard that fish might be found in Oak-bay, called by the French, Anse à la Pêche, or Fishing-cove, which is on the north side of Lake Superior, at the distance of twelve leagues from the Sault.[1] I lost no time in returing thither, taking with me several men, with a pint of maize only for each person.

In Oak-bay, we were generally able to obtain a

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[1] Now known as Goulais Bay. This end of the lake appears to have afforded excellent fishing grounds, as the opposite point on the south shore was called Whitefish Point, and the entire bay enclosed between this point and Sault Ste. Marie, is sometimes marked on maps as Whitefish Bay.

supply of food, sometimes doing so with great facility, but at others going to bed hungry. After being here a fortnight, we were joined by a body of Indians, flying, like ourselves, from famine. Two days after, there came a young Indian out of the woods, alone, and reporting that he had left the family to which he belonged behind, in a starving condition, and unable, from their weakly and exhausted state, to pursue their journey to the bay. The appearance of this youth was frightful; and from his squalid figure there issued a stench which none of us could support.

His arrival struck our camp with horror and uneasiness; and it was not long before the Indians came to me, saying, that they suspected he had been eating human flesh, and even that he had killed and devoured the family which he pretended to have left behind.

These charges, upon being questioned, he denied; but, not without so much equivocation in his answers as to increase the presumption against him. In consequence, the Indians determined on travelling a day's journey, on his track; observing, that they should be able to discover, from his encampments, whether he were guilty or not. The next day, they returned, bringing with them a human hand and skull. The hand had been left roasting before a fire, while the intestines, taken out of the body from which it was cut, hung fresh upon a neighbouring tree.

The youth, being informed of these discoveries, and further questioned, confessed the crime of which he was accused. From the account he now proceeded to give, it appeared that the family had consisted of his

uncle and aunt, their four children and himself. One of the children was a boy of fifteen years of age. His uncle, after firing at several beasts of the chase, all of which he missed, fell into despondence, and persuaded himself that it was the will of the Great Spirit that he should perish. In this state of mind, he requested his wife to kill him. The woman refused to comply; but the two lads, one of them, as has been said, the nephew, and the other the son of the unhappy man, agreed between themselves to murder him, to prevent, as our informant wished us to believe, his murdering them. Accomplishing their detestable purpose, they devoured the body; and famine pressing upon them still closer, they successively killed the three younger children, upon whose flesh they subsisted for some time, and with a part of which the parricides at length set out for the lake, leaving the woman ,who was too feeble to travel, to her fate. On their way, their foul victuals failed; the youth before us killed his companion; and it was a part of the remains of this last victim that had been discovered at the fire.

The Indians entertain an opinion, that the man, who has once made human flesh his food, will never afterward be satisfied with any other. It is probable that we saw things in some measure through the medium of our prejudices; but, I confess that this distressing object appeared to verify the doctrine. He ate with relish nothing that was given him; but, indifferent to the food prepared, fixed his eyes continually on the children which were in the Indian lodge, and frequently exclaimed, "How fat they are!"—It was perhaps not unnatural, that after long acquaintance with no

human form but such as was gaunt and pale from want of food, a man's eyes should be almost riveted upon any thing, where misery had not made such inroads, and still more upon the bloom and plumpness of childhood; and the exclamation might be the most innocent, and might proceed from an involuntary and unconquerable sentiment of admiration.—Be this as it may, his behaviour was considered, and not less naturally, as marked with the most alarming symptoms; and the Indians, apprehensive that he would prey upon their children, resolved on putting him to death. They did this the next day, with a single stroke of an axe, aimed at his head from behind, and of the approach of which he had not the smallest intimation.[2]

Soon after this affair, our supply of fish, even here, began to fail; and we resolved, in consequence, to return to the Sault, in the hope that some supply might have arrived there. Want, however, still prevailed at that place, and no stranger had visited it: we set off, therefore, to Michilimackinac, taking with us only one meal's provision, for each person. Happily, at our first encampment, an hour's fishing procured us seven trout, each of from ten pounds weight to twenty. At the river, Miscoutinsaki, we found two lodges of Indians, who had fish, and who generously gave us part.[3] The

[2] Such persons are known as "Windigo" among the Indians and are always regarded with horror. See *J. C. Kohl's Kitchi-Gami*, Chap. xxii.

[3] This name is a relic of the tribe of Indians known as Mascoutins, or Fire Nation, or Nation of the Prairie, the Assistaeronous of the early Jesuit Relations. As a nation

next day, we continued our journey, till, meeting with a *caribou*, I was so fortunate as to kill it. We encamped close to the carcass, which weighed about four hundred pounds, and subsisted ourselves upon it for two days. On the seventh day of our march, we reached Fort Michilimackinac, where our difficulties ended.

On the 1st of July, there arrived a hundred canoes from the north-west, laden with beaver.

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they are now extinct, their tribal organization having been absorbed by the Kickapoos and Foxes. John Johnston writes the name Methcoutisagué. See his *Account of Lake Superior in Masson's Bourgeois*, Vol. 2, p. 148. A brief history of the tribe is given in *Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes*, Vol. 4, p. 244.

CHAPTER IV.

Voyage from the Sault de Sainte-Marie to Michipicoten. Face of the Country. Ores of Copper and Lead. Indian Traditions—Nanibojou—his Burial-place—Original Country—Deluge—Creation of Man—Animals conspire against Mankind —deprived of the use of Speech. Sacrifies at the Grave of Nanibojou—his present offices. River of Michipicoten. O'pimittish Ininiwac—country —language—dress—wretchedness—incestuous customs — strict honesty — numbers. Face of the Country.

THE same year, I chose my wintering-ground at Michipicoten,[1] on the north side of Lake Superior, distant fifty leagues from the Sault de Sainte-Marie. On my voyage, after passing the great capes which are at the mouth of the lake, I observed the banks to be low and stony, and in some places running a league back, to the feet of a ridge of mountains.

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[1] This official spelling of the name of the river, bay and settlement has been changed to Michipicoton. For many years Michipicoton factory was the principal Hudson's Bay Company's post on the north shore of Lake Superior, from which a number of smaller posts in the interior were supplied. The route to James' Bay was by the Michipicoton and Moose Rivers, the journey occupying about sixteen days. A full description of the district with map and illustrations will be found in the *Report of the Bureau of Mines, Ontario, 1898.*

At Point Mamance,[2] the beach appeared to abound in mineral substances; and I met with a vein of lead-ore, where the metal abounded in the form of cubical crystals. Still coasting along the lake, I found several veins of copper-ore, of that kind which the miners call gray ore.[3]

From Mamance to Nanibojou is fifteen leagues. Nanibojou is on the eastern side of the Bay of Michipicoten. At the opposite point, or cape, are several small islands, under one of which, according to Indian tradition, is buried Nanibojou, a person of the most sacred

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[2] The accepted form of this name is Point Mamainse. Charlevoix gives it as Point Mamens, and David Thompson more phonetically as Mahmaize. Keating calls it "Point de Memens" "a corruption of the Indian word Marmoaze, which signifies an assemblage of rocks." *Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River in 1823*, vol. 2, p. 196. Agassiz used Mamainse, and Dr. Robert Bell of the Canadian Geological Survey, Namainse, and both these gentlemen give the same meaning "Little Sturgeon." Point Mamainse lies about fifty miles distance from Sault St. Marie, and has become, once more, within the past few years a mining centre.

[3] The form of copper found here is chalcocite or copper glance which on account of its color is often incorrectly called gray copper ore. The true gray copper ore, tetrahedrite is not found in the district. Native copper was subsequently found by David Thompson in 1798. See *Report of the Bureau of Mines, Ontario, 1893*, where an extract from Thompson's M.S. Journal may be found. The Reports of the Canadian Geological Survey and of the Ontario Bureau of Mines mention iron as occuring at Mamainse in addition to the two metals named by Henry.

memory.[4] Nanibojou, is otherwise called by the names of Minabojou, Michabou, Messou, Shactac, and a variety of others,[5] but of all of which the interpretation appears to be, *The Great Hare.* The traditions, related of the Great Hare, are as varied as his name. He was represented to me as the founder, and indeed creator, of the Indian nations of North-America. He lived originally toward the going down of the sun, where being warned, in a dream, that the inhabitants

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[4] The north shore of Lake Superior abounds in localities commemorative of Nanibozhu. A rocky point with a deep depression marks where he sat down to smoke, two depressions in the rocks are the imprints of his snow shoes, and elsewhere are the prints of his feet when walking or jumping. At the present day his grave is pointed out on the shore to the east of Thunder Bay Point. "It is a mountain some three miles long, and when seen from the water at a distance has the appearance of a man lying upon his back." Older tradition, however, points to the island which Henry visited as the grave, and it appears on Bellin's map of 1744, under the name of Minabaujou. Keating who passed it in 1823, writes:—"The spot is held in high veneration by the Indians, who, whenever they pass it deposit near it presents of tobacco and other valuable articles." Agassiz, says:—"It is a curious rock, part of which seems as if cut away nearly to the level of the water, while the rest rises steeply to the height of thirty or forty feet. This rock is remarkable in a mineralogical point of view. It is an amygdaloid porphyry containing asbestos and quartz with thin layers of chlorite and injections of granite." It lies a short distance north east of Cape Gargantua.

[5] Of the names here given, Messou was that used among the Quebec Montagnais and other Algonquin tribes of the east. The form occurs frequently in the early Jesuit Relations. Shactac is apparently a form of the Cree Wisakketchak, which also appears in the Nipissing, Wisakedjak.

would be drowned by a general flood, produced by heavy rains, he built a raft, on which he afterward preserved his own family, and all the animal world without exception. According to his dream, the rains fell, and a flood ensued. His raft drifted for many moons, during which no land was discovered. His family began to despair of a termination to the calamity; and the animals, who had then the use of speech, murmured loudly against him. In the end, he produced a new earth, placed the animals upon it, and created man.

At a subsequent period, he took from the animals the use of speech. This act of severity was performed in consequence of a conspiracy, into which they had entered against the human race. At the head of the conspiracy was the bear; and the great increase ,which had taken place among the animals rendered their numbers formidable.—I have heard many other stories concerning Naniboiou, and many have been already given to the public; and this at least is certain, that sacrifices are offered, on the island which is called his grave or tumulus, by all who pass it. I landed there, and found on the projecting rocks a quantity of tobacco, rotting in the rain; together with kettles, broken guns and a variety of other articles. His spirit is supposed to make this its constant residence; and here to preside over the lake, and over the Indians, in their navigation and fishing.[6]

[6] The story of Nanibozhu is wide spread among the western Algonquin peoples, who delight in the narration "of the deeds and exploits of the hero-god who figures in their creation and deluge legends, who taught them many arts and inventions,

This island lies no further from the main, than the distance of five hundred yards. On the opposite beach, I found several pieces of virgin copper, of which many were remarkable for their form; some resembling leaves of vegetables, and others animals. Their weight was from an ounce to three pounds.

From the island to my proposed wintering-ground, the voyage was about ten leagues. The lake is here bordered by a rugged and elevated country, consisting in mountains, of which, for the most part, the feet are in the water, and the heads in the clouds. The river which falls into the bay is a large one, but has a bar at its entrance, over which there is no more than four feet water.

On reaching the trading-post, which was an old one of French establishment, I found ten lodges of Indians. These were *Gens de Terres*, or *O'pimittish*

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and who sometimes deceived them as well as helped them." The relation of these form a permanent source of pleasure around the fire during the long winter nights, and though later local surroundings have somewhat coloured the older story, yet in the main, it is alike in all branches of the great Algonquin nation. The hero bears a close analogy to Napiû of the Blackfeet and Gluskey of the Mic-Macs. Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches*, New York, 1839, has given some of the stories at length. A. F. Chamberlain's paper in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 4, p. 193, entitled "Nanibozhu among the Otchipwe, Missisagas and other Algonquin tribes," is of great value for its able comparisons. Professor Ellis furnishes an interesting variant of "Nanibozhu and his brother" in *Varsity*, Toronto, 1888. See also *Brinton's Essays of an Americanist*, 1890, and *Emerson's Indian Myths*, 1884.

Ininiwac, of which nation I have already had occasion to speak.* It is scattered over all the country between the Gulf of Saint-Lawrence and Lake Arabuthcow,[7] and between Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. Its language is a mixture of those of its neighbours, the Chipeways and Christinaux.†[8] The men and women wear their hair in the same fashion; and are otherwise so much dressed alike, that it is often difficult to distinguish the sexes. Their lodges, on the insufficiency of which I have before remarked, have no covering, except the branches of the spruce-fir; and these habitations, as well as the clothes and persons of the inhabitants, are full of dirt and vermin. Such is the inhospitality of the country over which they wander, that only a single family can live together in the winter season; and this sometimes seeks subsistence in vain, on an area of five hundred square miles. They can stay in one place only till they have destroyed all its hares; and when these fail, they have no resource but in the leaves and shoots of trees, or in defect of

*See Part I. Chapter 6. They are also called *Tetes de Boule.*

†The same with Kinistinaux, Killistinoes, Criqs, Cris, Crees, &c. &c. &c.

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[7] Lake Athabaska.

[8] Duncan Cameron makes a similar observation on the Indian language of the Nipigon country, declaring it to be a mixture of Ojiboiay (Chippeway) and Masquaigon Cree. *Masson's Bourgeois du Nord-Ouest.* Vol. 2., p. 241. Cameron's observation though written about 1805 was not published till 1890, and is therefore independent testimony on the language of tribes closely adjoining the Michipicoton band. This corroboration bears witness to the value of Henry's observations.

these, in cannibalism. Most of these particulars, however, are to be regarded as strong traits, by which the sorrows and calamities of the country admit of being characterized, rather than as parts of an accurate delineation of its more ordinary state.

Among such of these Indians as I knew, one of them was married to his own daughter, who had brought him several children; and I was told by his companions, that it was common among them for a man to have at the same time, both a mother and her daughter for wives.

To the ten lodges, I advanced goods to a large amount, allowing every man credit for a hundred beaver-skins, and every woman for thirty. In this, I went beyond what I had done for the Chipeways, a proceeding to which I was emboldened by the high character, for honesty, which is supported by this otherwise abject people. Within a few days after their departure, others arrived; and by the fifteenth of October, I had seen, or so I was informed, all the Indians of this quarter, and which belong to a thousand square miles. They were comprised in no more than eighteen families; and even these, in summer, could not find food in the country, were it not for the fish in the streams and lakes.

The country, immediately contiguous to my wintering-ground, was mountainous in every direction; and the mountains were separated from each other rather by lakes than valleys, the quantity of water everywhere exceeding that of the land. On the summits of some of the mountains there were sugar-

maple trees; but, with these exceptions, the uplands had no other growth than spruce-firs and pines, nor the lowlands than birch and poplar. Occasionally, I saw a few *caribous*; and hares and partridges supplied my Sundays' dinners.—By Christmas-day, the lake was covered with ice.

CHAPTER V.

Maple-sugar making. Depth of Snow. Wildfowl—short-lived abundance. Indians bring in their Skins. Author passes a second Winter at Michipicoten—sails for the Sault de Sainte-Marie. Storm at the Island of Nanibojou. Famine. Canadians propose to kill and eat a Young Women. Tripe de Roche—nutritive quality of that vegetable. Arrival at the Sault and return to Michipicoten.

IN the beginning of April, I prepared to make maple-sugar, building for this purpose a house, in a hollow dug out of the snow. The house was seven feet high, but yet was lower than the snow.

On the twenty-fourth, I began my manufacture. On the twenty-eighth, the lands below were covered with a thick fog. All was calm, and from the top of the mountain not a cloud was to be discovered in the horizon. Descending the next day, I found half a foot of new-fallen snow, and learned that it had blown hard in the valleys the day before; so that I perceived I had been making sugar in a region above the clouds.

Sugar-making continued till the twelfth of May. On the mountain, we eat nothing but our sugar, during the whole period. Each man consumed a pound a day, desired no other food, and was visibly nourished by it.

After returning to the banks of the river, wild-fowl appeared in such abundance that a day's subsistence, for fifty men, could without difficulty be shot daily by one; but, all this was the affair of less than a week, before the end of which the water, which had been covered, was left naked; and the birds had fled away to the northward.

On the twentieth day of the month, the first party of Indians came in from their winter's hunt. During the season, some of them had visited one of the factories of the Hudson's Bay Company. Within a few days following, I had the satisfaction of seeing all those to whom I had advanced goods return. Out of two thousand skins, which was the amount of my outstanding debts, not thirty remained unpaid; and even the trivial loss, which I did suffer, was occasioned by the death of one of the Indians, for whom his family brought, as they said, all the skins of which he died possessed, and offered to pay the rest from among themselves:—his manes, they observed, would not be able to enjoy peace, while his name remained in my books, and his debts were left unsatisfied.

In the spring, at Michilimackinac, I met with a Mr. Alexander Baxter, recently arrived from England, on report of the ores existing in this country.[1] To this gentleman, I communicated my minera-

[1] In a letter written in 1784 by Benjamin Frobisher, it is stated that Mr. Baxter while on Lake Superior, had his residence at Point aux Pins. See *Canadian Archives Report*, 1888, p. 64.

logical observations and specimens, collected both on my voyages and at my wintering-ground; and I was thus introduced into a partnership, which was soon afterward formed, for working the mines of Lake Superior.

Meanwhile, I prepared to pass a second winter at Michipicoten, which I reached at the usual season. In the month of October, all the Indians being supplied, and at the chase, I resolved on indulging myself in a voyage to the Sault de Sainte-Marie, and took with me three Canadians, and a young Indian woman, who wished to see her relations there. As the distance was short, and we were to fish by the way, we took no other provision than a quart of maize for each person.

On the first night, we encamped on the island of Nanibojou, and set our net. We certainly neglected the customary offerings, and an Indian would not fail to attribute it to this cause, that in the night there arose a violent storm, which continued for three days, in which it was impossible for us to visit our net. In consequence, we subsisted ourselves on our maize, the whole of which we nearly finished. On the evening of the third day, the storm abated, and we hastened to examine the net. It was gone. To return to Michipicoten was impossible, the wind being ahead; and we steered therefore for the Sault. But, in the evening, the wind came round, and blew a gale all that night, and for the nine following days. During all this time, the waves were so high, and broke so violently on the beach, that a canoe could not be put into the water.

When we first disembarked, we had not enough maize to afford a single day's provision for our party, consisting, as it did, of five persons. What there was, we consumed on the first evening, reckoning upon a prosperous voyage the next morning. On the first and second days, I went out to hunt; but, after ranging for many miles among the mountains, I returned, in both instances without success. On the third day, I found myself too weak to walk many yards without stopping to rest myself; and I returned in the evening with no more than two snow-birds.*

On my arrival, one of my men informed me, that the other two had proposed to kill and feed upon the young woman; and, on my examining them as to the truth of this accusation, they freely avowed it, and seemed to be much dissatisfied at my opposition to their scheme.

The next morning, I ascended a lofty mountain, on the top of which I found a very high rock, and this covered with a lichen, which the Chipeways call *waac*, and the Canadians, *tripe de roche*. I had previously been informed, that on occasions of famine, this vegetable has often been resorted to for food.[2] No sooner, therefore, had I discovered it,

*Emberiza hyemalis.

[2] Under this name are known some black-looking leathery lichens growing upon the bare rocks as far north as the arctic circle. Botanically they belong to the genus Gyrophora and Umbilicaria. Their nutritive properties depend on the presence of a large amount of starchy matter. When boiled they yield a firm nutrient jelly, which is generally accompanied by

than I began to descend the mountain, to fetch the men and the Indian woman. The woman was well acquainted with the mode of preparing the lichen for the stomach, which is done by boiling it down into a mucilage, as thick as the white of an egg. In a short time, we obtained a hearty meal; for though our food was of a bitter and disagreeable taste, we felt too much joy in finding it, and too much relief in eating it, not to partake of it with appetite and pleasure. As to the rest, it saved the life of the poor woman; for the men, who had projected to kill her, would unquestionably have accomplished their purpose. One of them gave me to understand, that he was not absolutely a novice in such an affair; that he had wintered in the northwest, and had been obliged to eat human flesh.

On the evening of the ninth day, the wind fell, and our canoe was launched, though not without difficulty, from the weakly state of the crew. We paddled all night, but continually fell asleep; and whenever my own eyes were closed, I dreamed of tempting food.

The next morning, we discovered two canoes of Indians, on their way from the Sault. On informing them of our condition, they supplied us with as

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a bitter principle possessed of purgative powers. It was to these lichens, Sir John Franklin and his party owed there lives during their pitiful journey across the barren lands in the neighbourhood of the Copper-Mine River in 1821. In the *Journal of Peter Jones*, Toronto, 1860, the Ojibwa name is given as Wahkoonun.

many fish as we were willing to accept; and no sooner were we possessed of this treasure, than we put ashore, made a fire, and refreshed ourselves with a plentiful breakfast. At night, we reached the Sault. Our change of diet had very serious effects upon our health; so that, for myself, I had nearly fallen a victim; but, after a few days, we recovered, and returned safely to Michipicoten.

CHAPTER VI.

Ile de Maurepas. Island of Yellow Sands. Fables and Tradition. Attempt to cultivate a Garden at Michipicoten. Mine-Company of Lake Superior established.

IN the spring of 1769, as soon as the lake was cleared of ice, I embarked with two Indians, to visit the Island of Michipicoten, or Ile de Maurepas, distant ten leagues.[1] As we approached it, it appeared large and mountainous. The Indians had informed me, that it contained shining rocks, and stones of rare description. I found it one solid rock, thinly covered with soil, except in the valleys; but generally well wooded. Its circumference is twelve leagues. On examining the surface, I saw nothing remarkable, except large veins of transparent spar, and a mass of rock, at the south end of the island, which appeared to be composed of iron-ore.

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[1] During the French régime, this island bore the name of the Comte de Maurepas, 1701-1781, Minister of Marine under Louis XV. His name was also given to Fort Maurepas at the mouth of the Winnipeg River. The island has since Henry's day been the scene of operations of a number of mining companies, but no great success has attended their efforts. Geological and mineralogical description will be found in the *Geological Survey of Canada, Report of Progress to 1863*, and the *Mineral Resources of Ontario*, Toronto, 1890.

Disappointed in my expectations here, my curiosity was raised anew, by the account given me by my companions, of another island, almost as large as that on which I was, and lying a little further to the southward. This they described as covered with a heavy yellow sand, which I was credulous enough to fancy must be gold. All they knew, however, of the island and its heavy yellow sand, was from the report of some of their ancestors, concerning whom a tradition had come down to them, that being blown upon the former by a storm, they had escaped with difficulty from the enormous snakes by which it is inhabited, and which are the guardians of the yellow sand.* I was eager to visit so remarkable a

*Captain Carver, who visited Lake Superior about the year 1766, learned something of the fables of the yellow sand, though he places the treasure upon the Ile de Maurepas, and falls into other errors. His observations are as follows: —"There are many islands in this lake, two of which are "very large; and if the land of them is proper for cultiva- "tion, there appears to be sufficient to form on each a con- "siderable province; especially on Ile Royale, which cannot "be less than a hundred miles long, and in many places forty "broad. But, there is no way at present of ascertaining the "exact length or breath of either. Even the French, who "always kept a small schooner on this lake, whilst they were "in possession of Canada, by which they could have made "this discovery, have only acquired a slight knowledge of "the external parts of these islands; at least they have never "published any account of the internal parts of them, that I "could get intelligence of.

"Nor was I able to discover, from any of the conversations "which I had with the neighbouring Indians, that they had "ever made any settlements on them, or even landed there, "on their hunting excursions. From what I could gather

spot, and being told that in clear weather it was visible from the southward of the Ile de Maurepas, I waited there two days; but, the weather continuing hazy, I returned unsatisfied to my post.

This year, I attempted to cultivate culinary vegetables at Michipicoten; but without success. It was not at this time believed, that the potatoe could thrive at Michilimackinac. At Michipicoten, the small quantity of this root which I raised was destroyed by the frost, in the ensuing winter.

"by their discourse, they suppose them to have been, from "the first formation, the residence of the Great Spirit; and "relate many magical tricks, that had been experienced by "such as were obliged through stress of weather to take "shelter on them.

"One of the Chipeways told me, that some of their people "were once driven on the Island de Maurepas, which lies to "the north-east part of the lake, and found on it large "quantities of heavy, shining yellow sand, that from their "description must have been gold-dust. Being struck with "the beautiful appearance of it, in the morning, when they "re-entered their canoe, they attempted to bring some away; "but, a spirit of amazing size, according to their account, "sixty feet in height, strode into the water, after them, and "commanded them to deliver back what they had taken "away. Terrified at his gigantic statute, and seeing that he "had nearly overtaken them, they were glad to restore their "shining treasure; on which they were suffered to depart "without further molestation. Since this incident, no Indian "that has ever heard of it, will venture near the same haunted "coast. Besides this, they recounted to me many other "stories of these islands, equally fabulous."—*Three Years' Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, &c. By Captain Jonathan Carver, of the Provincial Troops, &c.*

In 1770, Mr. Baxter, who had sailed for England, returned, bringing with him papers, by which, with Mr. Bostwick and himself, I was constituted a joint-agent and partner, in and for a company of adventurers for working the mines of Lake Superior. We passed the winter together at the Sault de Sainte-Marie, and built a barge, fit for the navigation of the lake; at the same time laying the keel of a sloop of forty tons. Early in May, 1771, the lake becoming navigable, we departed from Point aux Pins, our shipyard, at which there is a safe harbour,[2] and of which the distance from the Sault is three leagues. We sailed for the Island of Yellow Sands, promising ourselves to make our fortunes, in defiance of its serpents.

[2] Benjamin Frobisher, writing for the information of the Governor, April 17, 1784, recommends the establishment of a post so as to command the entrance into Lake Superior, and says that "Point aux Pins is the most desirable spot. It is situated on the east side about two leagues above the Falls, on a narrow Channel that Commands in the most effectual manner the entrance into Lake Superior, it has the advantage of a fine Bason, formed by the Point, where vessels lay in deep water within a few yards of the shore, equally secure in Winter as in Summer." *Canadian Archives*, 1888, p. 64.

CHAPTER VII.

Visit the Island of Yellow Sands. Operation of the Mine-Company—its dissolution.

AFTER a search of two days, we discovered the island with our glass; and on the third morning, the weather being fair, steered for it at an early hour. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we disembarked upon the beach.

I was the first to land, carrying with me my loaded gun, and resolved to meet with courage the guardians of the gold. But, as we had not happened to run our barge upon the yellow sands in the first instance, so no immediate attack was to be feared. A wood was before us, at some little distance from the water's edge; and I presently discovered the tracks of *caribcux*.

Soon after I entered the woods, three of these animals discovered themselves, and turning round, gazed at me with much apparent surprise. I fired at one of them and killed it; and at a mile further I killed a second. Their size was equal to that of a three-year old heifer. The day following, I killed three.

The island is much smaller than I had been led to suppose it; its circumference not exceeding twelve miles. It is very low, and contains many small lakes.

These latter I conjecture to have been produced by the damming up of the streams by beaver, though those animals must have left the island, or perished, after destroying the wood. The only high land is toward the east.

A stay of three days did not enable us to find gold, nor even the yellow sands. At the same time, no serpents appeared, to terrify us; not even the smallest and most harmless snake. But, to support the romance, it might be inferred, that the same agency which hid the one had changed the other; and why should not the magic of the place display itself in a thousand varied exhibitions? Why should not the serpents have been transformed into hawks? and why should not the demons delight in belying every succeeding visitor, by never showing the same objects twice? Sure I am, that the hawks abounded when we were there. They hovered round us, and appeared even angry at our intrusion, pecking at us, and keeping us in continual alarm for our faces. One of them actually took my cap from off my head.

On one of the lakes, we saw geese; and there were a few pigeons. The only four-footed animal was the *caribou*, and this, it is probable, was first conveyed to the island on some mass of drifting ice. It was however no new inhabitant; for, in numerous instances, I found the bones of *caribou*x, apparently in entire skeletons, with only the tops of their horns projecting from the surface, while moss or vegetable earth concealed the rest. Skeletons were so frequent as to suggest a belief, that want of food, in this con-

fined situation, had been the destruction of many; nor is anything more probable: and yet the absence of beasts of prey might be the real cause. In forests more ordinarily circumstanced, the graminivorous animals must usually fall a prey to the carnivorous, long before the arrival of old age; but, in an asylum such as this, they may await the decay of nature.

The alarm of these animals, during our stay, was manifested in the strongest manner. At our first arrival, they discovered mere surprise, running off to a distance, and then returning, as if out of curiosity to examine the strangers. Soon, however, they discovered us to be dangerous visitors, and then took to running from one place to another, in confusion. In the three days of our stay, we killed thirteen.

The island is distant sixty miles from the north shore of Lake Superior. There is no land visible to the south of it, except a small island, on which we landed* [1]

On the fourth day, after drying our *caribou-meat*, we sailed for Nanibojou, which we reached in eighteen hours, with a fair breeze. On the next day, the miners examined the coast of Nanibojou, and found several veins of copper and lead; and

*The reader is not to look into any gazetteer for the *Island of Yellow Sands*. It is perhaps that which the French denominated, the Ile de Pontchartrain.

[1] It is now known as Caribou Island, probably from the report which Henry brought back.

after this returned to Point aux Pins, where we erected an air-furnace. The assayer made a report on the ores which we had collected, stating that the lead-ore contained silver in the proportion of forty ounces to a ton; but, the copper-ore, only in very small proportion indeed.

From Point aux Pins, we crossed to the south side of the lake, and encamped on Point aux Iroquois.

Mr. Norburg, a Russian gentleman, acquainted with metals, and holding a commission in the sixtieth regiment, and then in garrison at Michilimackinac, accompanied us on this latter expedition. As we rambled, examining the *shods*, or loose stones, in search of minerals,[2] Mr. Norburg chanced to meet with one, of eight pounds weight, of a blue colour, and semi-transparent. This he carried to England, where it produced in the proportion of sixty pounds of silver to a hundred weight of ore. It was reposited in the British Museum.[3] The same Mr. Norburg was shortly afterward appointed to the government of Lake George, in the province of New-York.[4]

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[2] Loose pieces of vein stuff found lying about on the surface are known in Cornwall as Shoad-stones; and shoading is the term given to the process of tracking them to the parent lode. —*Foster's Ore and Stone Mining*, London, 1894.

[3] The Keeper of Minerals in the British Museum, writes that no such specimen is in his collection and that it seems unlikely that a specimen of such a character had been found in the Lake Superior region.

[4] John Nordberg or Nordbergh, Lieutenant in the Sixtieth Regiment, received his commission in 1758, and retired on half pay in 1763. He obtained a grant of 2,000 acres in Connecticut in 1766, rejoined his regiment in same year, and was appointed

Hence, we coasted westward; but found nothing till we reached the Ontonagan, where, besides the detached masses of copper, formerly mentioned, we saw much of the same metal bedded in stone. Proposing to ourselves to make a trial on the hill, till we were better able to go to work upon the solid rock, we built a house, and sent to the Sault de Sainte-Marie for provisions. At the spot, pitched upon for the commencement of our preparations, a green-coloured water, which tinged iron of a copper-colour, issued from the hill; and this the miners called a *leader*. In digging, they found frequent masses of copper, some of which were of three pounds weight. Having arranged everything for the accommodation of the miners during the winter, we returned to the Sault.[5]

Captain in 1773. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, he was in charge of Fort George, a small fort at the southern end of Lake George and near the site of Fort William Henry. He was taken prisoner, when the fort surrendered, in April, 1775, and remained so until December, "when it appeared to "the Provincial Congress that his health was in such a state as "that tenderness and humanity demanded his going to Great "Britain for the restoration of his impaired constitution, and "that he had with the strictest honour behaved towards the "inhabitants of the American colonies as a soldier and gentle-"man, he was permitted in token of their respect to proceed to "England with such of his effects as he choose to remove."—*Journal of the New-York Provincial Congress, p. 220.*

[5] John Johnston, of Sault Ste. Marie, writing in 1809 of this venture, says that some of these efforts were made at Miner's Bay, an inlet in what is now Alger County, Michigan, and situated far east of Ontonagon. He attributes the failure to peculation.—*Masson's Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, Vol. 2, p. 156.

Early in the spring of 1772, we sent a boat-load of provisions; but, it came back on the twentieth day of June, bringing with it, to our surprise, the whole establishment of miners. They reported, that in the course of the winter they had penetrated forty feet into the hill; but, that on the arrival of the thaw, the clay, on which, on account of its stiffness, they had relied, and neglected to secure it by supporters, had fallen in: that to recommence their search would be attended with much labour and cost; that from the detached masses of metal, which to the last had daily presented themselves, they supposed there might be ultimately reached some body of the same, but could form no conjecture of its distance, except that it was probably so far off as not to be pursued without sinking an air-shaft: and, lastly, that this work would require the hands of more men than could be fed, in the actual situation of the country.

Here our operations in this quarter ended. The metal was probably within our reach; but, if we had found it, the expense of carrying it to Montreal must have exceeded its marketable value. It was never for the exportation of copper that our company was formed; but, always with a view to the silver which it was hoped the ores, whether of copper or lead, might in sufficient quantity contain. The copper-ores of Lake Superior can never be profitably sought for but for local consumption. The country must be cultivated and peopled, before they can deserve notice.* The

*The copper-mines of Lake Superior have been more than once represented to the world in colours capable of deceiving fresh adventurers; and the statement in the text will not have

neighbouring lands are good. I distributed seed-maize among the Indians here, which they planted accordingly. They did the same the following year, and in both instances had good crops. Whether or not they continued the practice, I cannot say. There might be

been uselessly made, if it should at any time serve as a beacon to the unwary. The author of Voyages from Montreal, &c. has recently observed, that the "Americans, soon after they "got possession of the country, sent an engineer;" and that he "should not be surprised to hear of their employing people "to work the mine. Indeed," he adds, "it might be well "worthy the attention of the British subjects to work the "mines on the north coast, though they are not supposed to "be so rich as those on the south;"—and Captain Carver has given the following account of the identical undertaking above described: "A company of adventurers from England began, "soon after the conquest of Canada, to bring away some of "this metal; *but the distracted situation of affairs in America* "*has obliged them to relinquish their scheme.* It might in future "times be made a very advantageous trade; as the metal, "which *costs nothing* on the spot, and requires but little "expense to get it on board, could be conveyed in boats or "canoes through the Falls of Sainte-Marie, to the Isle of "Saint-Joseph, which lies at the bottom of the strait, near the "entrance into Lake Huron; from thence it might be put on "board larger vessels, and in them transported across that "lake, to the Falls of Niagara; then being carried by land, "across the *portage*, it might be conveyed without much more "obstruction to Quebec. The cheapness and ease with which "any quantity of it may be procured, will make up for the "length of way that is necessary to transport it, before it "reaches the sea-coast; and enable the proprietors to send it "to foreign markets on as good terms as it can be exported "from other countries."—*Three Years' Travels, &c.* [*Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Voyage from Montreal through the Continent of North America*, London, 1801, p. 41; and *J. Carver, Travels through the interior parts of North-America*, London, 1778, p. 139].

much danger of their losing the seed; for their way was, to eat the maize green, and save only a small quantity for sowing.

In the following month of August, we launched our sloop, and carried the miners to the vein of copper-ore on the north side of the lake. Little was done during the winter; but, by dint of labour, performed between the commencement of the spring of 1773, and the ensuing month of September, they penetrated thirty feet into the solid rock. The rock was blasted with great difficulty; and the vein, which, at the beginning, was of the breadth of four feet, had in the progress contracted into four inches. Under these circumstances, we desisted, and carried the miners back to the Sault.[6] What copper-ore we had collected, we sent to

[6] E. B. Borron (*Report of the Royal Commission on the Mineral Resources of Ontario*), gives the supposed location of these operations by Henry's company as at Pointe aux Mines, which is marked on Bayfield's chart as the north horn of Mica Bay, six miles north of Mamainse Harbour. Old copper mines of the Quebec Mining Company (1848-9) were situated here, and might be confused with the more ancient workings. See Palmer's Account in the *Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines*, p. 171. On a M.S. map in the Crown Lands Department, Toronto, marked, "A sketch of the north shore of Lake "Superior collected from the Journals of a coast survey and "remarks made by Lieut. Bennet of the 8th Regiment," and signed by P. McNeff, Detroit, October, 1794, a mining location is shown sixteen miles north of Point Mamainse and eight miles south of Montreal River to which is attached this note, "copper mines—some years since an attempt was made here to "dig for copper ores, but in a short time declined for what "reason cannot say." As this note was made only twenty years after Henry's operations, it is almost certain that this was his mine.

England; but, the next season, we were informed, that the partners there declined entering into further expenses.—In the interim, we had carried the miners along the north shore, as far as the river Pic, making, however, no discovery of importance. This year, therefore, 1774, Mr. Baxter disposed of the sloop, and other effects of the Company, and paid its debts.

The partners, in England, were His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Mr. Secretary Townshend, Sir Samuel Tutchet, Baronet; Mr. Baxter, Consul of the Empress of Russia; and Mr. Cruickshank: in America, Sir William Johnson, Baronet; Mr. Bostwick, Mr. Baxter and myself.

A charter had been petitioned for, and obtained; but, owing to our ill success, it was never taken from the seal-office.

CHAPTER VIII.

Author goes into the North-West. Tete de la Loutre. River Pijitic. Pays Plat. River Nipigon. Grand Portage. Commercial animosities. Carrying-place. River aux Groseilles. Height of Land. Lake Sagunac. Chipeway Village. Lake à la Pluie. Second Chipeway Village. River à la Pluie. Lake of the Woods. Third Chipeway Village. Pelicans. Portage du Rat. River Winipegon, or Winipic. River Pinawa. Carrying-place of the Lost Child. Lake Winipegon. Christinaux, or Crees—their dress—manners—language.

PENDING this enterprise, I had still pursued the Indian trade; and on its failure I applied myself to that employment with more assiduity than ever, and resolved on visiting the countries to the north-west of Lake Superior.

On the 10th day of June, 1775, I left the Sault, with goods and provisions to the value of three thousand pounds sterling, on board twelve small canoes, and four larger ones. The provisions made the chief bulk of the cargo; no further supply being obtainable, till we should have advanced far into the country. Each small canoe was navigated by three men, and each larger one by four.

On the 20th, we passed the Tête de la Loutre, or

Otter's Head,[1] so named from a rock, of about thirty feet in height, and fifteen in circumference, and which stands vertically, as if raised by the hand of man. What increases the appearance of art, is a hollow in the adjacent mass of rock, which its removal might be thought to have left. In the evening, we encamped at the mouth of the Pijitic,[2] a river as large as that of Michipicoten, and which in like manner takes its rise in the high lands lying between Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. From Michipicoten to the Pijitic, the coast of the lake is mountainous: the mountains are covered with pine, and the valleys with spruce-fir.

It was by the river Pijitic* that the French ascended in 1750, when they plundered one of the factories in Hudson's Bay, and carried off the two small pieces of brass cannon which fell again into the hands of the English at Michilimackinac.[3] On the

*According to Carver, it was by the Michipicoten. If he is correct, it must have been from Moose Fort, in James Bay, and not from Fort Churchill, that they took the cannon.

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[1] A well-known point between Michipicoton and Pic River, in longitude 86°, latitude 48° 10′. Dr. Bigsby says, "that it "is an upright slab, from thirty to thirty-five feet high, placed "on some scantily-clad rocks, 120 feet above the lake and at an "interval from it, which, though looking small, is much greater "than it appears." *Shoe and Canoe*, London, 1850, Vol. 2., p. 208.

Now known as the White River which flows out of White Lake.

[3] This is clearly a mistake on Henry's part, owing to his giving credence to some untrustworthy tradition of the voy-

river are a band of Wood Indians, who are sometimes troublesome to the traders passing.

On the 21st, I left the Pijitic, and crossing a bay, three leagues in breadth, landed on Pic Island. From Pic Island, I coasted ten leagues, and then encamped on an island opposite the Pays Plat, or Flat Country, a name borrowed from the Indians, and occasioned by the shoal-water which here extends far into the lake, and by the flat and low lands which lie between the water and the mountains.

The Pays Plat is intersected by several large rivers, and particularly the Nipigon, so called after

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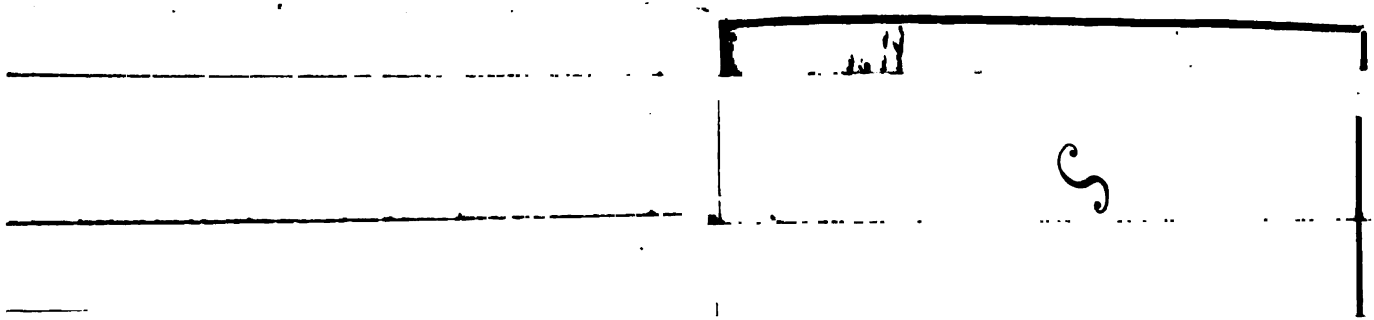
ageurs. The capture of Forts Hayes, Rupert and Albany was made by de Troyes and d'Iberville, in 1686, and their route was by the Ottawa, Lake Abitibi, Abitibi and Moose Rivers. To come as far west as Michipicoton would have taken them much out of their way. Some of the Canadians who accompanied the force may have wished to return to Michilimackinac and naturally would take the shortest and most direct route by the Moose and Michipicoton Rivers, and thus give rise to the tradition. They may have also brought with them, the guns which Henry saw at Michilimackinac (ante, p. 41). In the inventory of Artillery in Canada in 1749 it was stated that there were four brass half-pounders at Michilimackinac, which appear to be the only guns of this calibre in the country. No doubt they were the same, and their light weight would afford an explanation of their carriage over the portages. It is curious how frequently modern writers have copied this statement of the capture in 1750, while Carver, whom Henry and those who quote him refer to, expressly says that it occurred in the reign of Queen Anne. That it was sixteen years earlier shows how traditional the story had become.



Lake Nipigon, of which it is the discharge. By this river, the French carried on a considerable trade with the Northern Indians.[4] They had a fort or trading-house at its mouth, and annually drew from it a hundred packs of beaver, of a quality more in esteem than that from the north-west. They had another

[4] The large island of St. Ignace, which with some smaller islands forms the breakwater to Nipigon Bay, is about thirty miles from the mouth of the river. The bay is well described in *Grant's Ocean to Ocean*, p. 23, 1873. The Nipigon River, famous for the size and vigour of its trout, flows almost due south out of Lake Nipigon and is about thirty-one miles long. It is the largest river flowing into Lake Superior, but is not navigable by large vessels as its course is interrupted by many rapids and falls. As early as 1661, Radisson and Groseilliers had ascended the river and reported in Quebec that the furs were of superior quality, the Indians numerous, and that a route existed to the English forts on Hudson's Bay. Duluth was despatched by De la Barre in 1684 to induce the Indians to refrain from going to the English forts, and to erect a French fort on the Nipigon River. M. Denonville writing to M. De Seignelay, from Montreal, in 1687, says, "Du l'Hut's brother, "who has recently arrived from the rivers above the lake of "the Allenemipigons (now Lake Ste. Anne, north of Lake "Superior) assures me that he saw more than 1,500 persons "come to trade with him." The site of the fort was afterwards occupied by a new fort built by the Hudson's Bay Company. A station of the Canadian Pacific Railway and a small village are about two miles north of it. The name which at first appears to have been applied to the lake was Alimibegong (Le Mercier, 1667); Alempigon (Long, 1777). Duncan Cameron, a trader in 1800, says, "the lake was called by the Indians "Aminipigon, which the French for brevity called Nipigon." The meaning of the word is said by Dr. Robert Bell to be, "Deep, clear water lake," an accurate descriptive title.

trading-house at Caministiquia[5]— As we proceed north-west along the lake, the mountains recede widely from the beach.

On the 24th, I left the northern shore, and in four days reached the Grand Portage. The intervening

[5] Kaministiquia is the modern form of the name. It has appeared under different disguises since the first discovery of the river. La Vérendrye gives it as Gamanestigona; La Hontan, Camanistigoyan; Mackenzie, Caministiquia; Harmon, Kaminitiquia, all evidently forms of the Cree, Kaministikweia, meaning, "where there are islands in the river." It is 403 miles from the Sault Ste. Marie, in latitude 48° 20′ N. and longtitude 89° 20′ 30″ west of Greenwich. A fort was built about half a mile from the mouth of the river in 1678, by D. G. Duluth, which La Hontan says "he made a large maga-"zine of goods and which did considerable disservice to the "English settlements in Hudson's Bay." It was one of a series of stations intended to cut off the inland trade of the English and confine them to the shores of Hudson's Bay. The fort was rebuilt by La Noue in 1717, but was again abandoned, until 1804 when a new and larger building was erected by the North-West Company which was named Fort William, after William MacGillivray, a prominent member of the company. From this time the entire traffic of the North-West and the Hudson's Bay companies with Eastern Canada passed down the Kaministiquia River. In the Fort, yearly meetings of the factors of the North-West Company from the West and East, were held to discuss their affairs, and the reunion was celebrated with festivities which have been brilliantly painted by Irving. After the opening of the Dawson route, Fort William became the port for the western traffic, but on the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Lake Superior terminus was transferred to Port Arthur, in Thunder Bay, eight miles distant. See Hind's *Canadian Exploring Expedition*, London, 1860, Vol. 1, p. 24; and S. J. Dawson's *Report on the Explorations between Lake Superior and the Red River*, Toronto, 1859.

islands consist almost entirely in rock. The largest, called Ile au Tonnerre, or Thunder Island, is said, by the Indians, to be peculiarly subject to thunder-storms. At the Grand Portage, I found the traders in a state of extreme reciprocal hostility, each pursuing his interests in such a manner as might most injure his neighbour. The consequences were very hurtful to the morals of the Indians.[6]

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[6] Henry is now entering the usual route from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg by the Pigeon and Rainy Rivers. The geographical names he gives along this route are mainly the French, or voyageurs' names, and every one is found in the narratives of other early travellers, who preceded or followed him along this well-known thoroughfare. The Grand Portage at first referred to the nine mile carrying-place to surmount the numerous falls near the outlet of Pigeon River, but soon was applied to the landing-place at the commencement of the portage, on Lake Superior, a few miles south of the mouth of the river. It is within the present State of Minnesota, Pigeon River forming the boundary between this State and the Province of Ontario. La Vérendrye and his sons were the first Frenchmen to cross this great watershed which separated the great lakes from the rivers flowing to the north and west, and though their enterprise met with partial disaster they eventually succeeded in their undertaking, reaching the Red River where they established some permanent forts. The French traders and their English successors followed in their footsteps until this became the established route to the North-West. In 1804 the American government imposed a duty of from twenty to twenty-five per cent. on all goods carried over the portage, and compelled the North-West Company to transfer their fort to the Kaministiquia and adopt that route. The younger Henry passing over in 1800 recorded the different steps of his journey at greater length, and Mr. Coues in annotating this portion of it, entered into such minute details that anyone following him, can only refer the reader to his notes.

The transportation of the goods at this *grand portage*, or *great carrying-place*, was a work of seven days of severe and dangerous exertion, at the end of which we encamped on the river Aux Groseilles.*[7] The Grand Portage consists in two ridges of land, between which is a deep glen or valley, with good meadow-lands, and a broad stream of water. The lowlands are covered chiefly with birch and poplar, and the high with pine. I was now in what is technically called the *north-west*; that is, the country north-west of Lake Superior. The canoes here employed are smaller than those which are used between Montréal and Michilimackinac, and in Lake Superior; being only four fathom and a half in length. It is the duty of the head and stern men to carry the canoe. I engaged

* The same with what a recent traveller describes as the "river du Tourt," (Tourtre,)—"Dove or Pigeon river."

Reference is also made to Bigsby's *Shoe and Canoe*, Vol. 2; the *Reports of the Commissions on the North American Boundaries, 1838-42;* and Hind's *Canadian Exploring Expedition*, 2 vols., London, 1860, where is given in Appendix XII., a "table of the Portages, Décharges, Rapids, Lakes, Lake Straits and Navigable Waters on the Pigeon River route from Lake Superior to Rainy Lake, showing their lengths and distances from Lake Superior."

[7] The name of this river has undergone some curious changes. The earliest form is that of Grosseilliers so named from the companion of Radisson in the seventeenth century, whence it became altered to aux Groseilles from some fancied connection with the wild gooseberry. After Henry's visit the name was changed to Riviére aux Tourtres, or the River of Turtles, referring to the wild pigeon. Mackenzie calls it Au Tourt. It has long been known as the Pigeon River.

two of these to winter with me, at the wages of four hundred dollars each, and an equipment of the value, at the Grand Portage, of one hundred more.

On the eighth, we ascended the Groseilles, to the carrying-place called the Portage du Perdrix,[8] where the river falls down a precipice of the height of a hundred feet. At the place, where, after passing the Grand Portage, we first launched our canoes on the Groseilles, the stream is thirty yards wide. From this spot, it proceeds, with numerous falls, to Lake Superior, which it enters about six leagues[9] to the northward of the Grand Portage.

Next day, at the Portage aux Outardes,[10] we left the Groseilles, and carrying our canoes and merchandise for three miles, over a mountain, came at length

[8] Both the younger Henry and H. Y. Hind use the English form of the name, which is the one in common use, Partridge Portage.

[9] This is an error as the distance is barely ten miles.

[10] Outarde means "wild goose." It is translated simply "goose" wherever the term occurs among geographical names. The younger Henry calls it Outarde Portage; Mackenzie, Outard Portage; and H. Y. Hind, Fowl Portage. Henry omits to mention a Portage between the Perdrix Portage and the Outarde Portage. But as he calls the latter three miles long, he probably combines Deer or Caribou Portage with the Outarde Portage proper. He greatly exaggerated its length or took a different course from that usually followed in latter times; its length is 2,400 paces (Mackenzie); 2,172 yards (Thompson); 2,000 yards (Hind); 1,748 yards (Coues).

to a small lake.[11] This was the beginning of a chain of lakes, extending for fifteen leagues, and separated by carrying-places of from half a mile to three miles in length. At the end of this chain, we reached the heads of small streams which flow to the north-westward. The region of the lakes is called the Hauteur de Terre, or *Land's Height.* It is an elevated tract of country, not inclining in any direction, and diversified on its surface with small hills. The wood is abundant; but consists principally in birch, pine, spruce-fir and a small quantity of maple.

By the twelfth, we arrived where the streams were large enough to float the canoes, with their lading, though the men walked in the water, pushing them along. Next day, we found them sufficiently navigable, though interrupted by frequent falls and carrying-places. On the twentieth, we reached Lake Sagunac, or Saginaga, distant sixty leagues from the Grand Portage.[12] This was the hithermost post in the

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[11] The one meant is evidently Outarde or Fowl Lake. The largest of these small lakes are, Moose, Mountain, Watab, Rose and Perche.

[12] Henry's recollection of the numerous lakes has here failed him. Lake Sagunac or Saginaga (the present Seiganagah) is only 77 miles from Grand Portage, not 180 miles—and is 10 miles long, not 24 miles. In 1800 his nephew reached Saginaga in seven days and Lake Nequaquon in ten days, while Henry's itinerary shows that he took twelve days to reach what he calls Lake Saginaga. Lake Nequaquon is 151 miles from Grand Portage and is 22 miles long. Like Lake Saginaga it is full of islands. As Henry speaks of entering Rainy Lake almost immediately after, he would be, if at Lake Nequaquon,

north-west, established by the French; and there was formerly a large village of Chipeways here, now destroyed by the Nadowessies. I found only three lodges, filled with poor, dirty and almost naked inhabitants, of whom I bought fish and wild rice,* which latter they had in great abundance. When populous, this village used to be troublesome to the traders, obstructing their voyages, and extorting liquor and other articles. Lake Sagunac is eight leagues in length by four in breadth. The lands, which are every where covered with spruce, are hilly on the south-west; but, on the north-east more level. My men were by this time almost exhausted with fatigue; but, the chief part of the labour was fortunately past.

We now entered Lake à la Pluie,[13] which is fifteen leagues long, by five broad. Its banks are covered

*Folle avoine, avena fatua, zizania aquatica.

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within 51 miles of it, while if at Lake Saginaga he would be 151 miles distant. It is evident therefore that he was thinking of Lake Nequaquon, a lake commonly known as Lac la Croix or Cross. It is by the Malign or Sturgeon River which enters at the north-east corner of this lake that the route from Fort William rejoins the older route to Lake Winnipeg.

[13] Rainy Lake or Lac à la Pluie is 225 miles west of Lake Superior and is divided by the boundary line between Minnesota and Ontario. The lake is most irregular in form, with deep bays and great numbers of islands. Roughly speaking it is 50 miles long by 38½ broad, with a shore line of about 300 miles. The canoe route to the Rainy River crossing one portion of the lake is about 40 miles long. The name is from the mist, like rain, which is raised by the Falls of the Chaudière at the entrance to the Rainy River.

with maple and birch. Our encampment was at the mouth of the lake, where there is a fall of water of forty feet, called the Chute de la Chaudière. The carrying-place is two hundred yards in length.[14] On the next evening, we encamped at Les Fourches,[15] on the River à la Pluie, where there was a village of Chipeways, of fifty lodges, of whom I bought new canoes. They insisted further on having goods given to them on credit, as well as on receiving some presents. The latter they regarded as an established tribute, paid them on account of the ability which they possessed, to put a stop to all trade with the interior. I gave them rum, with which they became drunk and troublesome; and in the night I left them.

The River à la Pluie is forty leagues long, of a gentle current, and broken only by one rapid. Its banks are level to a great distance, and composed of a

[14] The French post, Fort St. Pierre, was established here by La Vérendrye in 1731, and the Hudson's Bay post, Fort Frances, occupies a site not far from its ruins. The locks for a canal to surmount the Falls have been commenced and the Village of Alberton, Ont. has grown round it. The carrying-place here is called the Chaudière Portage by the younger Henry, and the name has remained in use to the present time. Illustrations of the Fort and Falls will be found in Hind's *Canadian Exploring Expedition*, Vol. 1, p. 81, 1860.

[15] There are two Forks, the Little Forks and the Big Forks, the latter twenty-two miles below Rainy Lake, where the Big Forks River (sometimes called Big Elk River) enters the Rainy River from the State of Minnesota. Henry probably refers to the Big Forks, as his nephew also saw a few Indians camped there, and called the place Grande Fourche.

fine soil, which was covered with luxuriant grass. They were perfect solitudes, not even a canoe presenting itself, along my whole navigation of the stream. I was greatly struck with the beauty of the scene, as well as with its fitness for agricultural settlements, in which provisions might be raised for the north-west.

On the thirtieth, we reached the Lake of the Woods, or Lake des Iles,[16] at the entrance of which was an Indian village, of a hundred souls, where we obtained a further supply of fish. Fish appeared to be the summer food.

From this village, we received ceremonious presents. The mode with the Indians is, first to collect all the provisions they can spare, and place them in a heap; after which they send for the trader, and address him in a formal speech. They tell him, that the Indians are happy in seeing him return to their country; that they have been long in expectation of his arrival; that

[16] The Lake of the Woods is a translation of the Lac des Bois of the early French traders, though Lac des Isles used by La France in 1740 was long used as an alternative. It is about 75 miles in length and breadth and is broken up into three distinct lakes by a long promontory and some islands. The distance from Grand Portage by the Pigeon River route is 325 miles and by the route from Fort William 381 miles. It is historically of great interest, as the North-West corner of the lake was fixed by the treaty of 1783 as the starting point of the American boundary westward, the negotiators being under the impression that it was on the forty-ninth parallel, north latitude. Subsequent measurements showed that it stood in 49° 37′, and after much negotiation and fresh surveys, the curious indentation called the North-West angle was accepted by both countries in 1876.

their wives have deprived themselves of their provisions, in order to afford him a supply; that they are in great want, being destitute of every thing, and particularly of ammunition and clothing; and that what they most long for, is a taste of his rum, which they uniformly denominate *milk*.

The present, in return, consisted in one keg of gunpowder, of sixty pounds weight; a bag of shot, and another of powder, of eighty pounds each; a few smaller articles, and a keg of rum. The last appeared to be the chief treasure, though on the former depended the greater part of their winter's subsistence.

In a short time, the men began to drink, while the women brought me a further and very valuable present, of twenty bags of rice. This I returned with goods and rum, and at the same time offered more, for an additional quantity of rice. A trade was opened, the women bartering rice, while the men were drinking. Before morning, I had purchased a hundred bags, of nearly a bushel measure each. Without a large quantity of rice, the voyage could not have been prosecuted to its completion. The canoes, as I have already observed, are not large enough to carry provisions, leaving merchandise wholly out of the question. —The rice grows in shoal water, and the Indians gather it by shaking the ears into their canoes.

When morning arrived, all the village was inebriated; and the danger of misunderstanding was increased by the facility with which the women abandoned themselves to my Canadians. In consequence, I lost no time in leaving the place.

On the first day of August, we encamped on a sandy island in the Lake of the Woods, where we were visited by several canoes, of whom we purchased wild rice. On the fourth, we reached the Portage du Rat.[17]

The Lake of the Woods is thirty-six leagues long. On the west side is an old French fort or trading-house, formerly frequented by numerous bands of Chipeways, but these have since been almost entirely destroyed by the Nadowessies. When strong, they were troublesome. On account of a particular instance of pillage, they have been called *Pilleurs*. The pelican[18] is numerous on this lake. One, which we shot, agreed entirely with the description of M. de Buffon.

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[17] A detailed account of the portages and of the three outlets of the Winnipeg River from the Lake of the Woods, with a map showing the position of the Hudson's Bay Company's old post there, will be found in the *Fifth Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines*, pp. 168-171. It is there made clear that the Portage du Rat of the old voyageurs was at the most westerly outlet, the one now known as Keewatin Channel, three and a half miles west of the town of Rat Portage. The name is said to have originated from the habit of muskrats crossing in great numbers. *Hind's Canadian Exploring Expedition*, Vol. 1, chap. v., is devoted to a very interesting description of Rat Portage and the Winnipeg River, with some illustrations of the scenery. The reader is also referred to *Butler's Great Lone Land*, p. 143, London, 1872.

[18] *Pelecanus Erythrorhynchos.* The American White Pelican, breeds in large numbers in the lakes and marshes west and north of Lake Superior, but only occasional specimens have been seen to the east of it. It was therefore a new bird to Henry, which accounts for his noting it.

On the fifth, we passed the Portage du Rat, which is formed by a rock of about twenty yards long. Here, we met several canoes of Indians, who all begged for rum; but, they were known to belong to the band of *Pilleurs*, also called the *rogues*, and were on that account refused.

From the Portage du Rat, we descended the great river Winipegon, which is there from one mile to two in breadth, and at every league grows broader. The channel is deep, but obstructed by many islands, of which some are large. For several miles, the stream is confined between perpendicular rocks. The current is strong, and the navigation singularly difficult. Within the space of fifteen leagues, there are seven falls, of from fifty feet to a hundred in height.[19] At sixty leagues from our entrance of the Winipegon, we crossed a carrying-place into the Pinawac; below which, the dangers of the Winipegon are still further increased. The adjacent lands are mountainous and rocky; but, some of the high hills are well covered with birch and maple.

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[19] The modern Winnipeg River. The name is derived from a Cree word, meaning turbid water. Almost every possible variation in the spelling may be found in the narratives of the early writers. Henry is alone in the use of Winnipegon. C. N. Bell has given a long list of these variations in the *Transactions of the Manitoba Historical Society, 1885*. The route follows the river for about one hundred miles when it turns sharply to the right, following the branch known as the Pinawa, until it rejoins the main stream at Bonnet Lake. The course is changed to avoid the dreaded portages on this portion of the Winnipeg River.

The stream of the Pinawa is shallow, and its bed rocky and broken. The carrying-places are eight in number. The mosquitoes were here in such clouds as to prevent us from taking aim at the ducks, of which we might else have shot many.

On the thirteenth, we encamped at the Carrying-place of the Lost Child. Here is a chasm in the rock, no where more than two yards in breadth, but of great and immeasurable depth. The Indians relate, that many ages past, a child fell into this chasm, from the bottom of which it is still heard, at times, to cry. In all the wet lands, wild rice grows plentifully.

The Pinawa is twenty leagues long,[20] and discharges itself into Lake du Bonnet,* at three leagues to the north of the mouth of the Winipegon, which falls into the same lake, or rather forms it; for Lake du Bonnet is only a broadened part of the channel of the Winipegon. The lake is two leagues broad; and the river, in its course below, continues broader than it is above, with many islands and deep falls: the danger of the navigation, however, is lessened.

On the sixteenth, we reached Lake Winipegon, at

* Cap Lake, in some maps written *Cat Lake*.

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[20] Henry's distances on this part of his route are hopelessly astray. The total length of the Winnipeg River is about 160 miles. The Pinawa is eighteen miles long and falls into Lake Bonnet not more than ten miles from the mouth of the main stream. The lake does not exceed five miles in width.

the entrance of which is a large village of Christinaux,[21] a nation which I had not previously seen. The name is variously written; as, Cristinaux, Kinistineaux, Killistinoes and Killistinaux. Lake Winipegon is sometimes called the Lake of the Killistinons, or Cristinaux. The dress and other exterior appearances of the Cristinaux are very distinguishable from those of the Chipeways and the Wood Indians.

The men were almost entirely naked, and their bodies painted with a red ochre, procured in the mountains, and often called *vermilion*. Every man and boy had his bow strung and in his hand, and his arrow ready, to attack in case of need. Their heads were shaved, or the hair plucked out, all over, except a spot on the crown, of the diameter of a dollar. On this spot, the hair grew long, and was rolled and gathered into a tuft; and the tuft, which is an object of the greatest care was covered with a piece of skin. The ears were pierced, and filled with the bones of fish and of land animals.—Such was the costume of the young men; but, among the old, some let their hair grow on all parts of their head, without any seeming regard.

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[21] As Henry says nothing of the remains of the French Fort established here by La Vérendrye in 1734 it must have fallen into ruins before his arrival. It was named Fort Maurepas after Comte de Maurepas, the celebrated minister under Louis XV. and Louis XVI. Both the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company had establishments here before the end of the century, the former being first known as Fort Alexander and afterwards as Fort Bas de la Rivière. It is now known by the former appellation.

The women wear their hair of a great length, both behind and before, dividing it on the forehead and at the back of the head, and collecting the hair of each side into a roll, which is fastened above the ear; and this roll, like the tuft on the heads of the men, is covered with a piece of skin. The skin is painted, or else ornamented with beads of various colours. The rolls, with their coverings, resemble a pair of large horns. The ears of the women are pierced and decorated, like those of the men.

Their clothing is of leather, or dressed skins of the wild ox[22] and the elk. The dress, falling from the shoulders to below the knee, is of one entire piece. Girls of an early age wear their dresses shorter than those more advanced. The same garment covers the shoulders and the bosom: and is fastened by a strap which passes over the shoulders: it is confined about the waist by a girdle. The stockings are of leather, made in the fashion of *leggings*. The arms, to the shoulders, are left naked, or are provided with sleeves, which are sometimes put on, and sometimes suffered to hang vacant from the shoulders. The wrists are adorned with bracelets of copper or brass, manufactured from old kettles. In general, one person is worth but one dress; and this is worn as long as it will last, or till a new one is made, and then thrown away.

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[22] Throughout this narrative, Henry in common with all the early writers, calls the buffalo "wild ox," and does not use the word "buffalo" except in speaking of their hides as "buffalo-robes," a term he uses synonymously with "ox-skins." He explains at page 265 that the name buffalo-robe was then used by traders.

The women, like the men, paint their faces with red ochre; and in addition usually tatoo two lines, reaching from the lip to the chin, or from the corners of the mouth to the ears. They omit nothing to make themselves lovely.

Meanwhile, a favourite employment is that of waging war with certain animals which are in abundance on their persons, and which, as they catch, they eat. To frequent inquiries, as to the motive for eating them, I was always answered, that they afforded a medicinal food, and great preventive of diseases.

Such are the exterior beauties of the female Cristinaux; and, not content with the power belonging to these attractions, they condescend to beguile, with gentle looks, the hearts of passing strangers. The men, too, unlike the Chipeways, (who are of a jealous temper), eagerly encourage them in this design. One of the chiefs assured me, that the children, borne by their women to Europeans, were bolder warriors, and better hunters, than themselves.

The Cristinaux have usually two wives each, and often three; and make no difficulty in lending one of them, for a length of time, to a friend. Some of my men entered into agreements with the respective husbands, in virtue of which they embarked the women in the canoes, promising to return them the next year. The women, so selected, consider themselves as honoured; and the husband, who should refuse to lend his wife, would fall under the condemnation of the sex in general.

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[23] The abbreviative form of this name (Cree), is now universally applied to these Indians. They still form one of the

The language of the Cristinaux is a dialect of the Algonquin, and therefore bears some affinity to that of the Chipeway, which is another dialect of the same.[24] In the north-west, it is commonly called *Cree*, or *Cris*.

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largest divisions of the Algonquin nation and extend over a vast area of country. The Crees are divided into three divisions, the Prairie Crees, chiefly living on the prairies in the territories of Alberta and Assiniboia, the Wood Crees in northern Alberta and Athabasca and the Swampy Crees in the country lying between the Red River, Hudson's Bay and Lake Superior. It was a party of these latter whom Henry met on the Ottawa River, in August 1761. They are estimated at the present time to number about 12,000, of whom 10,000 are under treaty arrangements with the Canadian Government. Educational and missionary work has been carried on among them by missionaries of different denominations, with considerable success and almost all can read. This is mainly due to the genius of James Evans, a Methodist missionary, who invented a syllabic system by which the process of learning to read has been much shortened. The syllabary has been adopted for the printed books of all religious bodies and is used by the Crees for their own communications. Much interesting information about them will be found in *Kane's Wanderings of an Artist*, *Hind's Canadian Exploring Expedition*, *the Earl of Southesk's Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, *Butler's Wild North Land*, *MacLean's Canadian Savage Folk*, (Toronto 1896), *MacLean's James Evans*, (Toronto, 1890) and *Franklin's Narrative of a Journey to the Polar Sea in 1819-22*.

Grammars of the Cree language have been prepared by J. Howse, J. Horden, Pére Lacombe and Dictionaries by Pére Lacombe and E. A. Watkins. A full bibliography will be found under article Cree in *Pilling's Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*.

CHAPTER IX.

Voyage in the North-West continued. Snow-storm. River de Bourbon, Pasquayah, or Sascatchiwaine. Grand Rapide. Lake Winipegon—dimensions, &c. Lake de Bourbon, or Cedar Lake. Fort de Bourbon. River Pasquayah. Pasquayah Village —Traders forced to comply with the demands of the Indians. Cumberland House. Sturgeon Lake. River Maligne. Beaver Lake. Build a Fort—and winter in it.

THE Cristinaux made me the usual presents of wild rice and dried meat, and accompanied them with the usual formalities. I remained at their village two days, repairing my canoes; and though they were drunk the whole time, they behaved very peaceably, and gave me no annoyance. I observed that two men constantly attended us, and that these individuals could not be prevailed upon to taste liquor. They had been assigned us for a guard; and they would not allow any drunken Indian to approach our camp.

On the eighteenth of August, I left these amicable people, among whom an intercourse with Europeans appeared to have occasioned less deviation from their primitive manners, than in any instance which I had previously discovered. I kept the north side of the lake,[1] and had not proceeded far before I was joined

[1] Lake Winnipeg lies north-west by north, so that Henry should have said the east side of the lake. That he was not

by Mr. Pond, a trader of some celebrity in the north-west.[2] Next day, we encountered a severe gale, from the dangers of which we escaped, by making the island called the Buffalo's Head; but, not without the loss of

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ignorant of the direction is apparent on page 256, where he gives the correct course. For some reason it is not uncommon to find the same use of north for east, etc., in other narratives by early fur traders in this region.

[2] Peter Pond was one of the earliest English-speaking fur traders to enter the North-West. He was at Fort Dauphin in 1775-6, Sturgeon River (Saskatchewan) 1776-8 and at Lake Athabasca and its vicinity during the next few years. To this latter place which had been hitherto unknown to the Canadian traders except by Indian report, Mr. Pond had gone in charge of a large quantity of goods, a joint venture of the traders on the Saskatchewan. He was successful beyond their most sanguine anticipations and almost destroyed the Hudson's Bay Company's trade at Fort Churchill. In 1780 a Mr. Wadin who had gone to the North-West was given a quantity of goods for trade, by some merchants at the Grand Portage, who nominated Mr. Pond as their representative to act in conjunction with him. The partnership was an unfortunate one as the men were of entirely different dispositions. At a dinner given by Mr. Wadin to Mr. Pond and his clerk, the host was shot through the lower part of the thigh and died during the night. Pond and his clerk were tried at Montreal for the murder and acquitted, but public opinion held them guilty, influenced probably by stories of his cruelty to the Indians and recklessness of life. He sold his share in the North-West Company to William McGillivray for £800, at the commencement of the twenty share concern in 1790, and we hear no more about him. Peter Pond's old house at Athabasca was a well-known land mark for many years after his death. Some biographical particulars may be found in the *Canadian Archives* 1889, p. xxxvi; 1890, pp. xxv-xxvi. The last mentioned volume contains a memorial by him dated April 18th, 1785, accompanied by his early map of the North-West.

a canoe and four men.[3] The shores, from the entrance of this lake to the island, with exception of the points, are rocky and lofty: the points are rocky, but low. The wood is pine and fir. We took pouts, cat-fish, or cat-heads, of six pounds weight.

On the twenty-first, we crossed to the south shore, and reached Oak-point, so called from a few scrub oaks, which here begin to diversify the forest of pine and fir. The pelicans, which we every where saw, appeared to be impatient of the long stay we made in fishing. Leaving the island, we found the lands along the shore low, and wooded with birch and marsh-maple intermixed with spruce-fir. The beach is gravelly, and the points rocky.

To the westward of Pike-river,[4] which we passed on the first of September, is a rock, of great length, called the Roche Rouge, and entirely composed of a *pièrre à calumet*, or stone used by the Indians for making

[3] This island was close to the point on the east shore, known to Alexander Mackenzie as Bull's Head, to Sir John Franklin as Ox's Head and to H. Y. Hind and recent topographers as Buffalo Head. The point is in north lat. 51° 30′, opposite to the group of islands of which Great Black Island is the largest.

Pike River on the west side of Lake Winnipeg has been known as the Jack-fish or Pike-head River, but is now officially known as the Jack-head River. The younger Henry preserves this latter name in the French, Tête du Brochet. It issues from a marsh separated from the lake by a belt of sand and shingle about one hundred yards broad. The river is about thirty feet wide at its mouth but becomes broader and deeper in the swamp and above it. It is a famous Cree fishing place and was at one time a missionary station.

tobacco-pipe bowls. It is of a light red colour, interspersed with veins of brown, and yields very readily to the knife.[5]

On the seventh of September, we were overtaken by Messrs. Joseph and Thomas Frobisher,[6] and Mr.

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[5] Mr. Dowling of the Geological Survey of Canada, who has devoted much time to a study of Lake Winnipeg, says, that "Henry's whereabouts on September 1st was not probably much past Dog Head. From Jack-fish Pointto Kinwow Bay, the shores are all low and there are no cliffs or exposures of rock, but after passing Kinwow Bay he would round McBeth Point and Cat Head and there he would meet a long cliff of evenly coloured dolomite somewhat like lithographic stone and of a dark-yellow colour. Some of the darker beds might have been described by 'light red colour' as stated in the text. The stone is of the consistency of limestone and could be carved by knives or sawn with the ordinary steel saw." To this Dr. Dawson, Director of the Survey, adds, "Dolomite, when fine-grained, was often used in making pipes by the Ontario Indians. It takes a good polish, but is of course not to be confounded with the proper red pipe-stone or catlinite which is only found at one place in Dakota."

[6] This was not the first venture of the Frobishers in the North-West. They appear to have been fur-traders from Montreal and had been among the number of those at Grand Portage who found the mutual bickering so disagreeable and injurious to trade. Joseph determined to penetrate into the country yet unexplored to the north and north-west, and in the spring of the year 1774 and 1775 met the Indians from these quarters, on their way to Fort Churchill, on the banks of the Missinipi, Churchill or English River, in latitude 55° 25 north and longitude 103° 25′ west. He met with some difficulty in persuading the Indians to deal with him, but at length succeeded in procuring as many furs as his canoes could carry. Pond's map, *Canadian Archives*, 1890, notes at this place,

Patterson.[7] On the twentieth, we crossed the bay together, composing a fleet of thirty canoes, and a hundred and thirty men. We were short of provisions.

On the twenty-first, it blew hard, and snow began to fall. The storm continued till the twenty-fifth, by

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"Mr. Frobisher in 1774, called Fort de Trait." This fort was situated at the northern end of Portage de Trait or Trade Portage leading from the Saskatchewan waters to the Churchill River. The names English River and Fort de Trait were both given by him. In 1774, this was the most northerly post occupied by any of the Canadian traders or Hudson's Bay Company. Even before this Joseph Frobisher appears to have wintered on the Red River. In the account of the Red River by John McDonnell, 1793-1795, *Masson's Bourgeois du Nord-Ouest*, Vol. 1., p. 268, it is stated that "two or three leagues above Riviére aux Morts is a clear spot on which Mr. Joseph Frobisher is said to have passed a winter, and is called Fort à M. Frobisher." He was probably the earliest Englishman to build a fort on Red River. In 1775 Thomas explored the country to the west and penetrated as far as the lake of the Isle à la Crosse at the mouth of the Beaver River in longitude 108° west. Mackenzie says that Joseph "never after wintered among the Indians, though he retained a large interest in the trade and a principal share in the direction of it till the year 1798, when he retired to enjoy the fruits of his labours; and by his hospitality, became known to every respectable stranger who visited Canada." In the Anglican Parish Register of Montreal for January, 1779, printed in the *Canadian Archives, 1885*, the name of Joseph Frobisher appears as marrying Miss Charlotte Joubert. A tombstone in the old Protestant burying-ground, Dorchester Street, Montreal, bore the name of Thomas Frobisher, who died September 12th, 1788, aged 44 years.—*Canadian Archives, 1889*, p. xvi.

[7] In all likelihood Mr. Patterson or Paterson was the partner of McGill in the sixteen share concern which preceded the North-West Company.

which time the small lakes were frozen over, and two feet of snow lay on level ground, in the woods. This early severity of the season filled us with serious alarms; for the country was uninhabited for two hundred miles on every side of us, and if detained by winter, our destruction was certain. In this state of peril, we continued our voyage day and night. The fears of our men were a sufficient motive for their exertions.

On the first of October, we gained the mouth of the River de Bourbon, Pasquayah, or Sascatchiwaine,* and proceeded to ascend its stream.[8] The Bourbon is a large river, and has its sources to the westward. The lands, which we passed after the twenty-first of September, are more hilly and rocky than those described before. The trees are poplar and spruce. The

*The lower part of the Sascatchiwaine was once called the River de Bourbon. *Pasquayah* is the name of an upper portion of the Sascatchiwaine.

[8] Saskatchewan River. The name is derived from Kis-is-kât-ji-wan the Cree word for "swift flowing," and has been tortured into many forms by early travellers. This noble river drains the whole country from the Rocky Mountains on the west between the watersheds of the Athabaska and the Missouri Rivers to Lake Winnipeg. Its length is about 1,100 miles. Pasquayah is derived from Paskquaw, a prairie or desert, as its course is through the great plain, to the east of the Rocky Mountains. The Cree name was long confined to the upper portion of the river but is now transferred (though altered in spelling to Pasquia) to a tributary which enters the Saskatchewan from the right near the Pas Mission, eighty-five miles from Lake Winnipeg. The name River de Bourbon was derived from that of the Fort which Vérendrye built at the mouth of the river in 1749 and named after the Royal family of France.

rocks are chiefly of lime-stone. Our course, from the entrance of Lake Winipegon, was north-west northerly. The lake contains sturgeon; but, we were not able to take any. At four leagues above the mouth of the river, is the Grand Rapide, two leagues in length, up which the canoes are dragged with ropes.[9] At the end of this is a carrying-place of two miles, through a forest almost uniformly of pine-trees. Here, we met with Indians, fishing for sturgeon. Their practice is, to watch behind the points where the current forms an eddy, in which the sturgeon, coming to rest themselves, are easily speared. The soil is light and sandy. A vessel of any burden might safely navigate Lake Winipegon, from its south-west corner to the Grand Rapide.

Lake Winipegon, or Winipic, or the Lake of the Killistinons, or Cristinaux, empties itself into Hudson's Bay, at Fort York, by a river, sometimes called Port-Nelson River. Its length is said to be one hundred and twenty leagues. Its breadth is unknown.[10] I

[9] The Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan are about two miles from its mouth. Mr. Fleming *(Hind's Canadian Exploring Expedition)* measured the length of the rapid which he made two and three quarter miles and the total descent forty-three and a half feet. Henry's figures are here very incorrect.

[10] Hind gives the approximate leading dimensions of Lake Winnipeg. Area of the lake, 8,500 square miles, length 280 miles, greatest breadth, 57 miles, length of coast line, 930 miles. The Nelson River is the largest river discharging into Hudson's Bay. It is a muddy stream of immense volume flowing in a course of about 360 miles through a flat country. It is only navigable for forty miles from its mouth. Fort York is eight miles south of it upon the Hayes River. The route to Lake Winnipeg is up this river and not by the Nelson River.

saw no land, in any direction, after leaving Oak Point. On the second, we continued our voyage against the current of the Bourbon, which was strong, and interrupted by several rapids. On the third, we entered Lake de Bourbon, called by the English, after the Indians, Cedar Lake. This name is derived from the cedar-tree, (*thuya*), which covers its banks, and which is not found to the northward of this region.

On the fourth, we reached the opposite extremity of Lake de Bourbon. This lake is eighteen leagues in length, and has many deep bays, receding to the northward. The land, by which they are bordered, is in almost all instances out of sight. Several islands, some of which are large, are also in this lake. The shores are generally rocky. At the north end, there was, in the French time, a fort, or trading-house, called Fort de Bourbon, and built by M. de Saint-Pièrre, a French officer,[11] who was the first adventurer into these parts of the country.*

*In 1766, Carver calls Lake de Bourbon "the most northward of those yet discovered."

[11] M. de Saint Pièrre is either Henry's abbreviation of Vérendrye's name, Pièrre Gaultier de Varrenes, Le Sieur de Vérendrye, who first penetrated thus far to the north and built the fort in 1749, or he has confounded him with Jacques Repentigny Legardeur de Saint Pièrre, the friend and ally of the Marquis de la Jonquière, who arrived at the Red River from Montreal in 1751. This latter never ascended the Saskatchewan, but sent Ensign de Niverville to establish a fort, three hundred miles up the river, in which the men succeeded, though de Niverville was left helplessly sick on the road. Fort Jonquière never became anything more than a name.

At and adjacent to this fort, are several of the mouths of the river Sascatchiwaine. Here we took several sturgeon, using a seine, the meshes of which were large enough to admit the fish's head, and which we made fast to two canoes.

On the sixth, we ascended the Sascatchiwaine, the current of which was here only moderately strong; but, the banks were marshy and overflowed, so that it was with difficulty we found a dry space, large enough to encamp upon. Beaver-lodges were numerous; and the river was everywhere covered with geese, ducks, and other wild fowl. No rising ground was to

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Vérendrye's sons freely accused M. de Saint Pièrre of having stolen from them the result of their discoveries. His narrative is published in the *Canadian Archives, 1886*, p. 163. The lake, originally called Lac Bourbon, has been known to Englishmen since 1763, as Cedar Lake. It is about thirty miles long and with a breadth at its widest part of twenty-five miles. The Saskatchewan which debouches into it on the north side, through numerous mouths, was for long said to terminate here and the portion between Cedar Lake and Lake Winnipeg was known as Rivière de Bourbon. Thomas Curry, of Montreal, was the first Englishman to reach Lac Bourbon, where he wintered in 1770-1, and was followed in the succeeding year by James Finlay. Umfreville, *Hudson's Bay*, says, "I passed the winters of the year 1784, 1785, 1786 and 1787 on a large river which empties itself by many branches into that lake which is laid down in maps by the name of Lake Bourbon. This lake was improperly so called by the French, when in possession of Canada; but its real name is Cedar Lake, and it is thus named by the Indians, on account of that kind of wood being found thereon." Mackenzie, *Voyage from Montreal*, p. lxviii, notes "that Fort Bourbon is situated on a small island dividing Cedar Lake from Mud Lake."

be seen; and the wood, which was chiefly willow, nowhere exceeded a man's wrist in thickness.

On the eighth, we resumed our voyage before daylight, making all speed to reach a fishing-place, since winter was very fast approaching. Meeting two canoes of Indians, we engaged them to accompany us, as hunters. The number of ducks and geese which they killed was absolutely prodigious.

At eighty leagues above Fort de Bourbon, at the head of a stream which falls into the Sascatchiwaine, and into which we had turned, we found the Pasquayah village.[12] It consisted of thirty families, lodged in tents of a circular form, and composed of dressed ox-skins, stretched upon poles twelve feet in length, and leaning against a stake driven into the ground in the centre.

On our arrival, the chief, named Chatique, or The Pelican, came down upon the beach, attended by thirty followers, all armed with the bows and arrows, and with spears. Chatique was a man of more than six feet in height, somewhat corpulent, and of a very doubtful physiognomy. He invited us to his tent; and we observed that he was particularly anxious to bestow his hospitalities on those who were the owners of the goods. We suspected an evil design; but,

[12] This was evidently at the place now called the Pas Mission where the Pasquia or Basquia River enters the Saskatchewan. Small encampments of Wood or Swampy Crees were always to be found here. Fleming (*Hind's Canadian Exploring Expedition*, Vol 1, p. 453), gives a view of the place.

judged it better to lend ourselves to the treachery, than to discover fear. We entered the lodge accordingly, and soon perceived that we were surrounded by armed men.

Chatique presently rose up, and told us, that he was glad to see us arrive; that the young men of the village, as well as himself, had long been in want of many things of which we were possessed in abundance; that we must be well aware of his power to prevent our going further; that if we passed now, he could put us all to death on our return; and that under these circumstances, he expected us to be exceedingly liberal in our presents: adding, that to avoid misunderstanding, he would inform us of what it was that he must have. It consisted in three casks of gunpowder; four bags of shot and ball; two bales of tobacco; three kegs of rum, and three guns; together with knives, flints and some smaller articles. He went on to say, that he had before now been acquainted with white men, and knew that they promised more than they performed; that with the number of men which he had, he could take the whole of our property, without our consent; and that therefore his demands ought to be regarded as very reasonable: that he was a peaceable man, and one that contented himself with moderate views, in order to avoid quarrels;—finally, that he desired us to signify our assent to his proposition, before we quitted our places.

The men in the canoes exceeded the Indians in number; but, they were unarmed, and without a leader: our consultation was therefore short, and we promised to comply. This done, the pipe was handed round as

usual; and the omission of this ceremony, on our entrance, had sufficiently marked the intentions of Chatique. The pipe dismissed, we obtained permission to depart, for the purpose of assorting the presents; and, these bestowed, or rather yielded up, we hastened away from the plunderers.

We had supposed the affair finished; but, before we had proceeded two miles, we saw a canoe behind us. On this, we dropped astern, to give the canoes that were following us an opportunity of joining, lest, being alone, they should be insulted. Presently, however, Chatique, in a solitary canoe, rushed into the midst of our squadron, and boarded one of our canoes, spear in hand, demanding a keg of rum, and threatening to put to death the first that opposed him. We saw that our only alternative was, to kill this daring robber, or to submit to his exaction. The former part would have been attended with very mischievous consequences; and we therefore curbed our indignation, and chose the latter. On receiving the rum, he saluted us with the Indian cry, and departed.

Every day, we were on the water before dawn, and paddled along till dark. The nights were frosty; and no provisions, excepting a few wild fowl, were to be procured. We were in daily fear that our progress would be arrested by the ice.

On the twenty-sixth, we reached Cumberland House,[13] one of the factories of the Hudson's Bay Com-

[13] Mr. Fleming says, "Cumberland House, the chief depôt or fort of the Cumberland District of the Hudson's Bay Company, is situated on the south shore of Cumberland or Pine Island

pany, seated on Sturgeon Lake, in about 54° north latitude, and 102° longitude west from Greenwich. This house had been built the year before, by Mr. Hearne, who was now absent, on his well-known journey of discovery. We found it garrisoned by Highlanders, from the Orkney Islands, and under the command of a Mr. Cockings, by whom, though unwelcome guests, we were treated with much civility. The design, in building this house, was to prevent the Indians from dealing with the Canadian merchants, and to induce them to go to Hudson's Bay. It is distant one hundred leagues from Chatique's village; and of this space the first fifty leagues comprise lands nearly level with the water; but, in the

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Lake. It is about two miles in an air line north of the Saskatchewan, on the north side of what is called "Pine Island," a tract of land of considerable extent, between the Saskatchewan and Pine Island Lake, isolated by two branch rivers connecting the lake with the Saskatchewan. The western connection bears the name of Big-Stone River, it is about six miles long by its windings and about two chains wide. The eastern connection is about the same size as Big-Stone River and is called Tearing River. It is the route followed by the Mackenzie River boats." Cumberland House has always been an important point, from its being at the junction of the two great lines of water communication, one leading from the Pacific and the other from the Arctic Seas. The North-West Company also possessed a house here which was built about 1793. Sir John Franklin remained at Cumberland House from October 23rd, 1819, to January 19th, 1820, and erected a sundial in the garden which still stands. An interesting account of his visit will be found in his *Journey to the Polar Seas in 1819-1822*, London 1823, pp. 48-60. The fort is 65½ miles from the Pas (Chatique's village) and 117 miles from Lake Winnipeg.

latter, the surface is more lofty, rising a hundred feet above the river, and increasing in height as we advance. The soil is a white clay, mixed with sand. The wood is small and scanty.

At Cumberland House, the canoes separated; M. Cadotte going with four to Fort des Prairies[14]; Mr. Pond, with two, to Fort Dauphin[15]; and others proceeding on still different routes. Messrs. Frobisher retained six, and myself four; and we resolved on joining our stock, and wintering together.[16] We steered for the river Churchill, or Missinipi, to the east of Beaver Lake, or Lake aux Castors.

Sturgeon Lake, which we now crossed, is twenty leagues in length. On the east are high lands, and on the west, low islands.[17] The river Maligne falls into it.

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[14] A note will be found on p. 275, on the position of this fort when Henry visits it during the following January.

[15] Pond's map, *Canadian Archives, 1890*, shows the place where he wintered this year, as at the north-west corner of Lake Dauphin. The North-West Company's house was afterwards on Ochre River, a few miles south of the lake.

[16] This union of interests in 1775, as M. Masson points out in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, Vol. 1, p. 11, resulted, some years after, in the creation of the North-West Company.

[17] The name is now only given to the eastern portion of the lake, the western part being known as Pine Island Lake. Henry's course was for a short distance east before turning north. The River Maligne continued for some time to retain this name, but in David Thompson's map it had been replaced by Sturgeon Weir River.

This we ascended, but not without much labour, from the numerous *rapids*, on account of which, the Canadians, in their vexation, have given it the name it bears.[18]

We crossed Beaver Lake on the first day of November; and the very next morning it was frozen over. Happily, we were now at a place abounding with fish; and here, therefore, we resolved on wintering.

Our first object was to procure food. We had only three days' stock remaining, and we were forty-three persons in number. Our forty men were divided into three parties, of which two were detached to the River aux Castors, on which the ice was strong enough to allow of setting the nets, in the manner heretofore described. The third party was employed in building our house, or fort; and, in this, within ten days, we saw ourselves commodiously lodged. Indeed, we had almost built a village; or, in soberer terms, we had raised buildings round a quadrangle, such as really assumed, in the wilds which encompassed it, a formidable appearance. In front, was the house designed for Messrs. Frobisher and myself; and the men had four houses, of which one was placed on each side, and two in the rear.

Our canoes were disposed of on scaffolds; for, the ground being frozen, we could not bury them, as is the usual practice, and which is done to protect them from

[18] "This river is most appropriately named by the Canadians; for I believe, for its length, it is the most dangerous, cross-grained piece of navigation in the Indian country." *Cox's Columbia River*, vol. 2, p. 256.

that severity of cold which occasions the bark to contract and split.

The houses being finished, we divided the men anew, making four parties, of nine each. Four were retained as wood-cutters; and each party was to provide for its own subsistence.

Our fishing was very successful. We took trout of the weight of from ten to fifty pounds; white fish of five pounds; and pike of the usual size. There were also pickerel,[19] called *poissons dorés*, (gilt-fish), and sturgeon; but, of the last, we caught only one. The Indians, soon after our arrival, killed two elks, otherwise called *moose-deer*.*[20]

* Cervus alces.

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[19] The Pickerel, or Sandre, *Stizostedium Vitreum*, attains a size of from ten to twenty pounds. Its French name Doré is derived from its prevailing yellow colouration.

[20] Throughout this narrative Henry applies the term "Elk" to the species we now know as the moose. Later usage has almost entirely confirmed the name to the large red-deer, or wapiti, of the western prairies, called by the French la Biche, and by naturalists *Cervus Canadensis*. The name moose is from the Algonquin, the Cree form being *moosoa*, and the Ojibway, *moonsa*. The use of the French name, *orignal*, seems to have long survived in Quebec, and was used by Heriot in 1804, but all the English traders in the North-West use moose. It is now rarely found in Maine or the Maritime Provinces, but in considerable numbers west of the Ottawa river, as far as Alaska, its habitat being bounded on the south by the Great Lakes and prairies and on the north by the timber limit. A large moose will weigh from 900 to 1,200 pounds, and its meat was held in high estimation by the traders. See *Richardson's Fauna Boreali Americana*, part I., and *Caton's Antelope and Deer of America*, New York, 1877.

Lake aux Castors, or Beaver Lake, is seven leagues in length, and from three to five in breadth.[21] It has several islands, of which the largest does not exceed a mile in circumference. The lands on either shore are mountainous and rocky.

Messrs. Frobisher and myself were continually employed in fishing. We made holes in the ice, and took trout with the line, in twenty and thirty fathom water, using white-fish, of a pound weight, for our bait, which we sunk to the bottom, or very near it.

In this manner, I have at times caught more than twenty large trout a-day; but, my more usual mode was that of spearing. By one means or other, fish was plenty with us; but, we suffered severely from the cold, in fishing. On the twenty-fifth, the frost was so excessive, that we had nearly perished. Fahrenheit's thermometer was at 32° below zero in the shade; the mercury contracted one eighth, and for four days did not rise into the tube.

Several Indians brought beaver and bear's meat, and some skins, for sale. Their practice was, to remain with us one night, and leave us in the morning.

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[21] Beaver Lake, north of Cumberland Fort, is about sixteen miles long and four or five wide. It is instructive to see how the Canadian traders stationed themselves on the three lines of communication, from the north, east and south, forestalling the Hudson's Bay Company at Cumberland House by meeting the Indians on their way to trade.

CHAPTER X.

Winter journey from Beaver Lake to the Plains, or Prairies. Author accompanied to Cumberland House by Mr. Joseph Frobisher—reaches the Pasquayah, or Sascatchiwaine. Snow storm. Provisions exhausted—and consequent sufferings. Fort des Prairies. Plains—reports of their boundaries—inhabitants. Osinipoilles, or Assiniboins. Author joins a party of Osinipoilles, and accompanies them to their Village.

THE Plains, or, as the French denominate them, the Prairies, or Meadows, compose an extensive tract of country, which is watered by the Elk, or Athabasca, the Sascatchiwaine, the Red River and others, and runs southward to the Gulf of Mexico. On my first setting out for the north-west, I promised myself to visit this region, and I now prepared to accomplish the undertaking. Long journies, on the snow, are thought of but as trifles, in this part of the world.

On the first day of January, 1776, I left our fort on Beaver Lake, attended by two men, and provided with dried meat, frozen fish, and a small quantity of *praline*, made of roasted maize, rendered palatable with sugar, and which I had brought from the Sault de Sainte-Marie, for this express occasion. The kind and friendly disposition of Mr. Joseph Frobisher, induced him to bear me company, as far as Cumberland House, a

journey of a hundred and twenty miles.[1] Mr. Frobisher was attended by one man.

Our provisions were drawn by the men, upon sledges, made of thin boards, a foot in breadth, and curved upward in front, after the Indian fashion. Our clothing for night and day was nearly the same; and the cold was so intense, that exclusively of warm woollen clothes, we were obliged to wrap ourselves continually in beaver blankets, or at least in ox-skins, which the traders call *buffalo-robes*. At night, we made our first encampment at the head of the Maligne, where one of our parties was fishing, with but very indifferent success.

On the following evening, we encamped at the mouth of the same river. The snow was four feet deep; and we found it impossible to keep ourselves warm, even with the aid of a large fire.

On the fourth day, as well of the month as of our journey, we arrived at Cumberland House. Mr. Cockings received us with much hospitality, making us partake of all he had, which, however, was but little. Himself and his men subsisted wholly upon fish, in which sturgeon bore the largest proportion; and this was caught near the house. The next morning, I took

[1] The distances given by Mackenzie are: Cumberland House to Sturgeon Lake, twenty miles; Sturgeon Lake, twenty-seven miles; Sturgeon Weir River or River Maligne, thirty miles; Beaver Lake, sixteen miles, or a total of ninety-three miles. The extra distance was probably made up in detours to avoid the river which was too rapid to freeze.

leave of Mr. Frobisher, who is certainly the first man that ever went the same distance, in such a climate, and upon snow-shoes, to convoy a friend!

From Cumberland House, I pursued a westerly course, on the ice, following the southern bank of Sturgeon Lake, till I crossed the neck of land by which alone it is separated from the great river Pasquayah, or Sascatchiwaine.[2] In the evening, I encamped on the north bank of this river, at the distance of ten leagues from Cumberland House.

The depth of the snow, and the intenseness of the cold, rendered my progress so much slower than I had reckoned upon, that I soon began to fear the want of provisions. The sun did not rise till half past nine o'clock in the morning, and it set at half past two in the afternoon: it is, however, at no time wholly dark in these climates; the northern lights, and the reflection of the snow, affording always sufficient light for the traveller. Add to this that the river, the course of which I was ascending, was a guide, with the aid of which I could not lose my way. Every day's journey was commenced at three o'clock in the morning.

I was not far advanced, before the country betrayed some approaches to the characteristic nakedness of the Plains. The wood dwindled away, both in size and quantity, so that it was with difficulty we could collect sufficient for making a fire, and without fire we could

[2] This is really the island called Pine Island. It is about two miles wide and crossing it is the Pemmican portage, which connects Cumberland House with the Saskatchewan River.

not drink; for melted snow was our only resource, the ice on the river being too thick to be penetrated by the axe.

On the evening of the sixth, the weather continuing severely cold, I made my two men sleep on the same skin with myself, one on each side; and though this arrangement was particularly beneficial to myself, it increased the comfort of all. At the usual hour in the morning, we attempted to rise; but found that a foot of snow had fallen upon our bed, as well as extinguished and covered our fire. In this situation we remained till day-break, when, with much exertion, we collected fresh fuel. Proceeding on our journey, we found that the use of our sledges had become impracticable, through the quantity of newly fallen snow, and were now constrained to carry our provisions on our backs. Unfortunately, they were a diminished burden!

For the two days succeeding, the depth of the snow, and the violence of the winds, greatly retarded our journey; but, from the ninth to the twelfth, the elements were less hostile, and we travelled rapidly. No trace of any thing human presented itself on our road, except that we saw the old wintering-ground of Mr. Finlay, who had left it some years before, and was now stationed at Fort des Prairie.[3] This fort

[3] James Finlay was the pioneer English trader on the Upper Saskatchewan, having wintered at Nipawi House in 1771-2, Thomas Curry, who wintered at Fort Bourbon in 1770-1, not having proceeded further up the river. Finlay made money in the North-West fur trade, finally returned to Montreal about 1785

was the stage we had to make, before we could enter the Prairies, or Plains; and on examining our provisions, we found only sufficient for five days, while, even at the swiftest rate we had travelled, a journey of twelve days was before us. My men began to fear being starved, as seeing no prospect of relief; but, I endeavoured to maintain their courage, by representing that I should certainly kill red-deer and elk, of which the tracks were visible along the banks of the river, and on the sides of the hills. What I hoped for, in this respect, it was not easy to accomplish; for the animals kept within the shelter of the woods, and the snow was too deep to let me seek them there.

On the fifteenth, our situation was rendered still more alarming, by the commencement of a fresh fall of snow, which added nearly two feet to the depth of that which was on the ground before. At the same time, we were scarcely able to collect enough wood for making a fire to melt the snow. The only trees around us were starveling willows; and the hills, which discovered themselves at a small distance, were bare of every vegetable production, such as could rear itself above the snow. Their appearance was rather that of lofty snow-banks, than of hills. We were now on the borders of the Plains.

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and "became a notable there." His son James who was apprenticed to Gregory, McLeod & Co., Montreal, in the Indian trade, in this year, afterwards made his mark in the North-West, and gave his name to the Finlay River. Finlay's house was some two or three miles west of the 104th degree west, at the site of the old French fort at Nipawi, Nepion, Neponewin or Nippewien. This had been the most westerly French post on the Saskatchewan.

On the twentieth, the last remains of our provisions were expended; but, I had taken the precaution to conceal a cake of chocolate, in reserve for an occasion like that which was now arrived. Toward evening, my men, after walking the whole day, began to lose their strength; but, we nevertheless kept on our feet till it was late; and, when we encamped, I informed them of the treasure which was still in store. I desired them to fill the kettle with snow, and argued with them the while, that the chocolate would keep us alive, for five days at least; an interval in which we should surely meet with some Indian at the chase. Their spirits revived at the suggestion; and, the kettle being filled with two gallons of water, I put into it one square of the chocolate. The quantity was scarcely sufficient to alter the colour of the water; but, each of us drank half a gallon of the warm liquor, by which we were much refreshed, and in its enjoyment felt no more of the fatigues of the day. In the morning, we allowed ourselves a similar repast, after finishing which, we marched vigorously for six hours. But, now, the spirits of my companions again deserted them, and they declared, that they neither would, nor could, proceed any further. For myself, they advised me to leave them, and accomplish the journey as I could; but, for themselves, they said, that they must die soon, and might as well die where they were, as any where else.

While things were in this melancholy posture, I filled the kettle, and boiled another square of chocolate. When prepared, I prevailed upon my desponding companions to return to their warm beverage. On taking

it, they recovered inconceivably; and, after smoking a pipe, consented to go forward. While their stomachs were comforted by the warm water, they walked well; but, as evening approached, fatigue overcame them, and they relapsed into their former condition; and, the chocolate being now almost entirely consumed, I began to fear that I must really abandon them: for I was able to endure more hardship than they; and, had it not been for keeping company with them, I could have advanced, double the distance, within the time which had been spent. To my great joy, however, the usual quantity of warm water revived them.

For breakfast, the next morning, I put the last square of chocolate into the kettle; and our meal finished, we began our march, in but very indifferent spirits. We were surrounded by large herds of wolves, which sometimes came close upon us, and who knew, as we were prone to think, the extremity in which we were, and marked us for their prey: but, I carried a gun, and this was our protection. I fired several times, but unfortunately missed at each; for a morsel of wolf's flesh would have afforded us a banquet.

Our misery, nevertheless, was still nearer its end than we imagined; and the event was such as to give one of the innumerable proofs, that despair is not made for man. Before sunset, we discovered, on the ice, some remains of the bones of an elk, left there by the wolves. Having instantly gathered them, we encamped; and, filling our kettle, prepared ourselves a meal of strong and excellent soup. The greater part of the night was passed in boiling and regaling on our

booty; and early in the morning we felt ourselves strong enough to proceed.

This day, the twenty-fifth, we found the borders of the Plains reaching to the very banks of the river, which were two hundred feet above the level of the ice. Water-marks presented themselves at twenty feet above the actual level.

Want had lost his dominion over us. At noon, we saw the horns of a red-deer, standing in the snow, on the river. On examination, we found that the whole carcass was with them, the animal having broke through the ice in the beginning of the winter, in attempting to cross the river, too early in the season; while his horns, fastening themselves in the ice, had prevented him from sinking. By cutting away the ice, we were enabled to lay bare a part of the back and shoulders, and thus procure a stock of food, amply sufficient for the rest of our journey. We accordingly encamped, and employed our kettle to good purpose; forgot all our misfortunes; and prepared to walk with cheerfulness the twenty leagues, which, as we reckoned, still lay between ourselves and Fort des Prairies.

Though the deer must have been in this situation ever since the month of November, yet its flesh was perfectly good. Its horns alone were five foot high, or more; and it will therefore not appear extraordinary, that they should be seen above the snow.

On the twenty-seventh, in the morning, we discovered the print of snow-shoes, demonstrating that several

persons had passed that way the day before. These were the first marks of other human feet than our own, which we had seen since our leaving Cumberland House; and it was much to feel, that we had fellow-creatures in the wide waste surrounding us! In the evening, we reached the fort.

At Fort des Prairies, I remained several days,[4] hospitably entertained by my friends, who covered their table with the tongues and marrow of wild bulls. The quantity of provisions, which I found collected here, exceeded every thing of which I had previously formed a notion. In one heap, I saw fifty ton of beef,

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[4] Different posts on the upper portion of the Saskatchewan River have been known by this name, as trade pushed westward. The Fort des Prairies of Henry is evidently that known later as the Upper Nippeween immediately below the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers, called the Grand Forks. Mr. John Fleming notes on his map at this place the remains of old Fort Nippeween, and Sir John Richardson inserts the name "Fort Nippeween." Henry says that on January 25th, the banks of the Saskatchewan were 200 feet above the level of the ice, and was evidently surprised at the change from the low land through which he had been journeying. The point at which this observation was made must necessarily be within twenty miles of the present Fort a la Corne, as Mr. Fleming, who conducted the branch exploring party of 1858, says that about twenty miles below Fort a la Corne the banks of the river change from low to high. At the place just mentioned Henry reckoned they were still twenty leagues from the Fort which they did not reach until the evening of the 27th, about two days and a half. The actual distance would be little over fifty miles, and in their condition, twenty miles a day would be fair travelling.

so fat that the men could scarcely find a sufficiency of lean.

I had come to see the Plains; and I had yet a serious journey to perform, in order to gratify my curiosity. Their southern boundary I have already named; and I understood that they stretched northward, to the sixtieth degree of north latitude, and westward, to the feet of the Rocky Mountains, or Northern Andes, of which the great chain pursues a north-westerly direction.[5] The mountains, seen in high latitudes, were regarded as parts of this chain, and said to be inhabited by numerous bands of Indians. The Plains cross the river Pasquayah, Kejeeche-won,[6] Sascatchi-

[5] What Henry here calls the Plains is known as the second prairie steppe, which comprises the south-west half of the Province of Manitoba, half of the Territories of Assiniboia and three-fourths of Saskatchewan. It covers an area of 105,000 square miles, of which about two-thirds are prairie proper and stands at an average elevation of 1,600 feet above sea level. Henry, in crossing Lake Winnipeg, from Fort Alexander to the Saskatchewan River, left the route which would have taken him to the Red River and so he did not see the first prairie steppe which includes most of Manitoba and extends beyond the international boundary. The third prairie steppe rises to the west of the second and reaches to the Rocky Mountains. It ranges from 2,000 to 4,200 feet above sea-level and the surface is more irregular than the others. The name Rocky Mountains is now confined to the most easterly of the mountain chains which run parallel with the Pacific from the Mexican frontier until they approach the Arctic ocean. After passing the Peace River they gradually diminish in height. The reader is referred to S. E. Dawson's *Canada and Newfoundland* in *Stanford's Compendium of Geography*, London, 1897.

[6] Kejeeche-won is a very unusual form of the Cree name. See note, page 255.

waine or Shascatchiwan, a little above Fort des Prairies.

The Indians, who inhabit them immediately to the southward, are called Osinipoilles, or Assiniboins,[7]

[7] The Assiniboines are a branch of that Siouan stock which occupies the central portion of the continent. The Sioux or Dakotas are after the Algonquins and Iroquois the most interesting of all the tribes, and are pre-eminently the Indians of the plains. The name Assiniboin, is derived from the Cree, *assini*, stone, and *bwân*, Sioux, said to have come from the fact that they cooked their food on heated stones. The Dakotas, from whom they separated themselves before the middle of the seventeenth century, designate them *Hohe*, rebels. The Relation, of 1658, in a list of recently discovered tribes, says: "At thirty-five leagues from Lac Alimbeg (Nipigon), is the nation of the Assinipoualak, that is to say, the Warriors of Stone." Hennepin placed them to the north-east of the Issati (Santee) who were on Knife Lake, Minnesota, and the Jesuit map of 1681, on the Lake of the Woods, then called Lac Assinepoualacs. Perrot refers to the Asiniboin as a Sioux tribe, which in the seventeenth century seceded from their nation and took refuge in the Lake of the Woods. They seem to have gradually moved westward, until in Henry's time, they occupied the great prairies lying between the Red river on the east, Vermilion river on the west, and the North Saskatchewan and Missouri, on the north and south. Their numbers were estimated at the beginning of the nineteenth century at about 10,000, but the smallpox epidemic of 1838 greatly reduced them, and in 1842 different persons estimated them at between 3,500 and 4,000, occupying the country to the south of the Qu'Appelle river. They are now settled upon Reserves in different parts of the Territories of Assiniboia and Alberta and are divided in the Canadian Government's enumeration into Stony and Assiniboin Indians. Their united number in Canada, in 1890, was 1,342 and about the same number are to be found south of the American boundary line. The reader is

At the fort, I met with a woman who was a slave among the Osinipoilles, taken far to the westward of the mountains, in a country which the latter incessantly ravage. She informed me, that the men of the country never suffer themselves to be taken, but always die in the field, rather than fall into captivity. The women and children are made slaves, but are not put to death, nor tormented.* Her nation lived on a great river, running to the south-west, and cultivated beans, squashes, maize and tobacco. The lands were generally mountainous, and covered with pine and fir. She had heard of men who wear their beards. She had been taken in one of the incursions of the Osinipoilles. Of the men who were in the village, the greater part were killed; but, a few escaped, by swimming across the river.

The woman belonged to a numerous band of Osinipoilles, which was at the fort, selling its meat and skins. I resolved on travelling with these people, to their village; and accordingly set out on the fifth of

* The Five Nations, and others, are known to have treated their prisoners with great cruelty; but there is too much reason to believe, that the exercise of this cruelty has been often encouraged, and its malignity often increased, by European instigators and assistants.

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referred to McGee and Dorsey's Siouan Indians, in the *15th Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1893-4*; *Hinds' Canadian Exploring Expedition*, vol. 1; *Maclean's "Canadian Savage Folk"*; and *Bryce's "Assiniboine River and its Forks,"* in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol. 10.

February, accompanied by Messrs. Patterson and Holmes,[8] and attended by my two Canadians.

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[8] This was probably the Mr. Holmes of the firm of Holmes & Grant, who were partners in the Sixteen Share concern of 1780. He sold his share to John Gregory at the commencement of the Twenty Share concern, in 1790.

CHAPTER XI.

Journey on the Plains, from Fort des Prairies to a Village of the Osinipoilles. Table-land. Moose-river. Red-deer. Winter appearance of the Plains. Danger from drifted Snow. Coppices, or Islands. Wild Oxen. Messengers from Great Chief. Snow-storm—and Herd of Oxen. Tobacco highly esteemed among the Indians. Encamp near the Village. Entry. Guard of Honour. Tent assigned to the Strangers.

WE departed at an early hour, and after a march of about two miles, ascended the table-land, which lies above the river, and of which the level is two hundred feet higher than that of the land on which the fort is built. From the low ground upward, the soil is covered with poplar, of a large growth; but, the summit of the ridge is no sooner gained, than the wood is found to be smaller, and so thinly scattered, that a wheel-carriage might pass, in any direction. At noon, we crossed a small river, called Moose-river, flowing at the feet of very lofty banks. Moose-river is said to fall into Lake Dauphin.[1]

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[1] The name Moose River, has so completely disappeared that it is difficult to say whether it is that now known as Long Creek, or the Carrot or Root River. Although the distance to the latter is a long forenoon's walk, yet it is the only river running in the direction of Lake Dauphin. It actually flows into

Beyond this stream, the wood grows still more scanty, and the land more and more level. Our course was southerly. The snow lay four feet deep. The Indians travelled swiftly; and, in keeping pace with them, my companions and myself had too much exercise, to suffer from the coldness of the atmosphere; but, our snow-shoes being of a broader make than those of the Indians, we had much fatigue in following their track. The women led, and we marched till sunset, when we reached a small coppice of wood, under the protection of which we encamped. The baggage of the Indians was drawn by dogs, who kept pace with the women, and appeared to be under their command. As soon as we halted, the women set up the tents, which were constructed, and covered, like those of the Cristinaux.

The tent, in which I slept, contained fourteen persons, each of whom lay with his feet to the fire, which was in the middle; but, the night was so cold, that even this precaution, with the assistance of our *buffalo-robes*, was insufficient to keep us warm. Our supper was made on the tongues of the wild ox, or buffalo, boiled in my kettle, which was the only one in the camp.

At break of day, or rather before that time, we left our encampment; the women still preceding us. On

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the Saskatchewan River, a few miles above the Pas Mission, after running parallel with it for nearly 180 miles. Long Creek empties into the Saskatchewan River near Fort a la Corne, which Henry must have known. It seems probable, therefore, that Moose River was the Carrot or Root River.

our march, we saw but little wood, and that only here and there, and at great distances. We crossed two rivulets, stealing along the bottom of very deep channels, which, no doubt, are better filled in the season of the melting of the snow. The banks here, as on the Pasquayah, or Sascatchiwaine, are composed of a whitish clay, mingled with sand.

On the sixth of February, we had a fine clear sky; but, the air was exceedingly cold and bleak, no shelter from woods being afforded us, on either side. There was but little wind, and yet, at times, enough to cause a slight drift of snow. In the evening, we encamped in a small wood, of which the largest trees did not exceed a man's wrist in thickness. On the seventh, we left our encampment at an early hour. Tracks of large herds of animals presented themselves, which the Indians said were those of red-deer,[2] Our course was south-west, and the weather very cold. The country was one uninterrupted plain, in many parts of which no wood, nor even the smallest shrub, was to be seen: a continued level, without a single eminence; a frozen sea, of which the little coppices were the islands. That, behind which we had encamped the night before, soon sunk in the horizon; and the eye had nothing left, save only the sky and snow. The latter was still four feet in depth.

At noon, we discovered, and presently passed by, a diminutive wood, or island. At four in the afternoon, another was in sight. When I could see none,

[2] American elk, or Wapiti.

I was alive to the danger to be feared from a storm of wind, which would have driven the snow upon us. The Indians related, that whole families often perish in this manner.[3]

It was dark before we reached the wood. A fire, of which we had much need, was soon kindled by the women. Axes were useless here; for the largest tree yielded easily to the hand. It was not only small, but in a state of decay, and easily extracted from the loose soil in which it grew. We supped on wild beef and snow-water. In the night, the wind changed to the southward, and the weather became milder. I was still asleep, when the women began their noisy preparations for our march. The striking of the tents, the tongues of the women, and the cries of the dogs, were all heard at once. At the first dawn of day, we re-commenced our journey. Nothing was visible but the snow and sky; and the snow was drifted into ridges, resembling waves.

Soon after sunrise, we descried a herd of oxen, extending a mile and a half in length, and too numerous to be counted.[4] They travelled, not one after another,

[3] During the months of January and February, the prairies of the Northern States and Canada are exposed to these sudden storms locally called blizzards. The furious blasts of wind laden with particles of dry, cutting snow, at a temperature of from twenty to forty degrees below zero, are frequently fatal to the exposed travellers upon the open plain. In the great storm of January 14, 1888, it is estimated that over two hundred persons lost their lives in Minnesota, Dakota, and Nebraska.

[4] The almost incredible number of buffaloes is vouched for by many observers. Lewis and Clarke, in 1806, record in their

as, in the snow, other animals usually do, but, in a broad phalanx, slowly, and sometimes stopping to feed. We did not disturb them; because to have attacked them would have occasioned much delay to our progress; and because the dogs were already sufficiently burdened, not to need the addition of the spoil.

At two o'clock, we reached a small lake, surrounded with wood, and where the trees were of a size somewhat larger than those behind. There were birch-trees among the rest. I observed, that wherever there was water, there was wood. All the snow upon the lake was trodden down by the feet of wild oxen. When this was the case on the land, an abundance of coarse grass discovered itself beneath. We were unable to penetrate to the water in the lake, though we cut a hole in the ice, to the depth of three feet.

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journal, "These buffaloes are now so numerous that from an eminence we discovered more than we had ever seen before at one time; and if it be not impossible to calculate the moving multitude, which darkened the whole plains, we are convinced that twenty thousand would be no exaggerated number." Catlin, in 1833, says, "The almost countless herds of buffalo that are sometimes met with on these prairies, have been often spoken of by other writers and may yet be seen by any traveller who will take the pains to visit these regions—August and September is the time when they congregate into such masses in some places as literally to blacken the prairies for miles together." *Hornaday, The Extermination of the American Bison*, Washington, 1889; and *Catlin, Illustrations of the North American Indians*, vol. 1, p. 249.

Where we cleared the ground for our encampments, no stones were to be seen.[5]

This evening, we had scarcely encamped, when there arrived two Osinipoilles, sent by the great chief of the nation, whose name was the Great Road, to meet the troop. The chief had been induced to send them through his anxiety, occasioned by their longer absence than had been expected. The messengers expressed themselves much pleased at finding strangers with their friends, and told us, that we were within one day's march of their village,[6] and that the great chief would be highly gratified, in learning the long journey which we had performed to visit him. They added, that in consequence of finding us, they must themselves return immediately, to apprise him of our coming, and enable him to prepare for our reception.

[5] The whole of this region abounds in small lakes, many of them saline or alkaline. In mid-winter, when Henry was travelling in this district, they could not be distinguished from the surrounding country, except for the presence of trees.

[6] Henry had been travelling for seven days, first southerly and then in a south-west direction. This would bring him some little distance west and south of Humboldt, on the trail between Fort Ellice and the Saskatchewan river. The partially wooded country extends about seventy miles from the North Saskatchewan and thirty from the South Saskatchewan rivers, to the boundary of the great and almost treeless prairie stretching out to the south and southwest. Great Road's village was only a temporary resting place on this prairie, so that no permanent remains were left, the migrations of the village being governed by the movements of the buffalo, or the necessities of war.

Fortunately, they had not been able to take any refreshment, before a storm of wind and snow commenced, which prevented their departure, and in which they must have been lost, had it happened later. The storm continued all the night, and part of the next day. Clouds of snow, raised by the wind, fell on the encampment, and almost buried it. I had no resource but in my buffalo-robe.

In the morning, we were alarmed by the approach of a herd of oxen, who came from the open ground to shelter themselves in the wood. Their numbers were so great, that we dreaded lest they should fairly trample down the camp; nor could it have happened otherwise, but for the dogs, almost as numerous as they, who were able to keep them in check. The Indians killed several, when close upon their tents; but, neither the fire of the Indians, nor the noise of the dogs, could soon drive them away. Whatever were the terrors which filled the wood, they had no other escape from the terrors of the storm.

In the night of the tenth, the wind fell. The interval had been passed in feasting on the tongues of the oxen. On the morning of the eleventh, the messengers left us before day-light. We had already charged them with a present for the chief, consisting in tobacco and vermilion. Of these articles, the former exceeds all others in estimation: for the Indians are universally great smokers, men, women and children; and no affair can be transacted, civil or religious, without the pipe.

Our march was performed at a quick pace, in the track of the messengers. All the fore part of the day escaped, without discovering to us a single wood, or even a single twig, with the exception of a very small island, lying on our right; but, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we reached a little scrub, or bushy tract, on which we encamped. We were at no great distance from the village; but, the Indians, as is their custom, delayed their entry till the morning.

On the twelfth, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, we were in sight of a wood, or island, as the term not unnaturally is, as well with the Indians as others: it appeared to be about a mile and a half long. Shortly after, we observed smoke rising from it, and were informed that it was the smoke of the village. The morning was clear, and the sun shining.

At eleven o'clock, two fresh messengers came from the village, by whom the strangers were formally welcomed, on the part of the chief. They told us, that they were directed to conduct us and our servants to a lodge, which had been prepared for our reception.

At the entrance of the wood, we were met by a large band of Indians, having the appearance of a guard; each man being armed with his bow and spear, and having his quiver filled with arrows. In this, as in much that followed, there was more of order and discipline, than in anything which I had before witnessed among Indians. The power of these guards appeared to be great; for they treated very roughly some of the people, who, in their opinion, approached

us too closely. Forming themselves in regular file, on either side of us, they escorted us to the lodge, or tent, which was assigned us. It was of a circular form, covered with leather, and not less than twenty feet in diameter. On the ground within, ox-skins were spread, for beds and seats.

CHAPTER XII.

Hospitality and Ceremony of the Osinipoilles. Feast given by the Great Chief. The Pipe, or Calumet. Weeping. Remarkable Superstition. Second Feast. Orderly demeanour of the Guard. Camp, or Village, always on the alert. Number of Tents and Families. Curiosity of the Inhabitants. Dogs. Horses. Visit of the Great Chief—Retinue Speech—and Present. Great Chief designs to visit the Fort. Third Feast. Daily Feasts. Domestic Order. Military Police. Hunting the Wild Ox proposed.

ONE half of the tent was appropriated to our use. Several women waited upon us, to make a fire, and bring water, which latter they fetched from a neighbouring tent. Shortly after our arrival, these women brought us water, unasked for, saying that it was for washing. The refreshment was exceedingly acceptable; for, on our march, we had become so dirty, that our complexions were not very distinguishable from those of the Indians themselves.

The same women presently borrowed our kettle, telling us, that they wanted to boil something for us to eat. Soon after, we heard the voice of a man, passing through the village, and making a speech as he went. Our interpreter informed us, that his

speech contained an invitation to a feast, accompanied by a proclamation, in which the people were required to behave with decorum toward the strangers, and apprised, that the soldiers had orders to punish those who should do otherwise.

While we were procuring this explanation, an Indian, who appeared to be a chief, came into our tent, and invited us to the feast; adding, that he would himself show us the way. We followed him accordingly, and he carried us to the tent of the great chief, which we found neither more ornamented, nor better furnished, than the rest.

At our entrance, the chief arose from his seat, saluted us in the Indian manner, by shaking hands, and addressed us in a few words, in which he offered his thanks for the confidence which we had reposed in him, in trusting ourselves so far from our own country. After we were seated, which was on bear-skins, spread on the ground, the pipe, as usual, was introduced, and presented in succession to each person present. Each took his whiff, and then let it pass to his neighbour. The stem, which was four feet in length, was held by an officer, attendant on the chief. The bowl was of red marble, or pipe-stone.

When the pipe had gone its round, the chief, without rising from his seat, delivered a speech of some length, but of which the general purport was of the nature already described, in speaking of the Indians

of the Lake of the Woods.* The speech ended, several of the Indians began to weep, and they were soon joined by the whole party. Had I not previously been witness to a *weeping-scene* of this description, I should certainly have been apprehensive of some disastrous catastrophe; but, as it was, I listened to it with tranquillity. It lasted for about ten minutes, after which all tears were dried away, and the honours of the feast were performed by the attending chiefs. This consisted in giving to every guest a dish, containing a boiled wild ox's tongue—for preparing which, my kettle had been borrowed. The repast finished, the great chief dismissed us, by shaking hands; and we returned to our tent.

Having inquired among these people, why they always weep at their feasts, and sometimes at their councils, I was answered, that their tears flowed to the memory of those deceased relations, who formerly assisted both at the one and the other; — that their absence, on these occasions, necessarily brought them fresh into their minds, and at the same time led them to reflect on their own brief and uncertain continuance.†

The chief to whose kindly reception we were so

* See Part II., Chapter 8.

† The Osinipoilles are the *Issati* of the older travellers, and have sometimes been called the *Weepers*.[1]

[1] The Issati, whom Henry here confounds with the Assiniboin, belong to the same Siouan confederacy, and are the principal gens of the division known as Dakotas. Their name has long been converted into Santee and small bodies of them

much indebted, was about five feet ten inches high, and of a complexion rather darker than that of the Indians in general. His appearance was greatly injured by the condition of his head of hair, and this was the result of an extraordinary superstition.

The Indians universally fix upon a particular object, as sacred to themselves; as the giver of their prosperity, and as their preserver from evil. The choice is determined either by a dream, or by some strong predilection of fancy; and usually falls upon an animal, or part of an animal, or something else which is to be met with, by land, or by water: but, the Great Road had made choice of his hair—placing, like Sampson, all his safety in this portion of his proper substance! His hair was the fountain of all his happiness; it was his strength and his weapon, his spear and his shield. It preserved him in battle, directed him in the chase, watched over him in the march, and gave length of days to his wives and children. Hair, of a quality like this, was not to be profaned by the touch of human hands. I was assured, that it had never been cut, nor combed, from his childhood upward; and, that when any part of it fell from his head, he treasured up that part with care: meanwhile, it did not escape all care, even while growing on the head; but, was in the special charge of a spirit, who dressed it while the owner slept. All this might be; but, the spirit's style of hair-dressing was at least peculiar; the hair being suffered to remain very

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are now settled on Reserves in Nebraska and Montana. The title Weepers has not survived and cannot have been more than fur-traders' slang.

much as if it received no dressing at all, and matted into ropes, which spread themselves in all directions.

The same evening, we were invited to a second feast. Every thing was nearly as before, except that in the morning all the guests were men, and now half were women. All the women were seated on one side of the floor of the tent, and all the men on the other, with a fire placed between them. The fire rendering the tent warm, the men, one after another, dropped the skins which were their garments, and left themselves entirely naked. The appearance of one of them in particular having led us, who were strangers, into an involuntary and ill-stifled laugh, the men calmly asked us the occasion of our mirth; but, one of the women pointing to the cause, the individual restored the covering of his robe.

The women are themselves perfectly modest, both in dress and demeanour; and those, who were now present, maintained the first rank in the village; but, custom had rendered the scene inoffensive to their eyes.

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[2] Many of the Sioux and Crows permitted their hair to grow to great length, differing in this way from the Indians of the East, who only retained the scalp lock. Catlin speaks of seeing many of the Crows "who were men over six feet high, and cultivated their natural hair to such an almost incredible length that it swept the ground as they walked." The principal chief of the Crows was called "Long-Hair," and received his office from the circumstance of having the longest hair of any man in the nation. It measured ten feet seven inches in length. To the vanity which prompted the preservation of his hair, Great Road had added that of sanctity.

Our repast concluded, we departed, taking with us our dishes, in which the greater part of the ox-tongues, which had been laid upon them, remained unconsumed.

All night, in our tent, we had a guard of six soldiers; and, when I awoke, as several times I did, I always found them smoking their pipes in silence.[3]

We rose at day-break, according to the custom of the Indians, who say, that they follow it in order to avoid surprises; this being the hour at which the enemy uniformly makes his attack.

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[3] "The Akiteita (Akiéita), soldiers or guards (policemen) form an important body among the Assiniboin as they do among the other Siouan tribes. These soldiers who are chosen from the band on account of their bravery, are from twenty-five to forty-five years of age, steady, resolute, and respected; and in them is vested the power of executing the decisions of the council. In a camp of 200 lodges these soldiers would number from fifty to sixty men; their lodge is pitched in the centre of the camp and is occupied by some of them all the time, though the whole body is called together only when the chief wishes a public meeting or when their hunting regulations are to be decided. In their lodge all tribal and intertribal business is transacted, and all strangers, both white men and Indians, are domiciled. The young men, women, and children are not allowed to enter the soldiers' lodge during the time that tribal matters are being considered, and, indeed, they are seldom, if ever seen there. All the choicest parts of meat and the tongues of animals killed in hunting are reserved for the soldiers' lodge, and are furnished by the young men from time to time. A tax is levied on the camp for the tobacco smoked there, which is no small quantity, and the women are obliged to furnish wood and water daily."—*15th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 224.

Our waiting-women arrived early, bringing wood and water. Washing appeared to me to be a ceremony of religion among the Osinipoilles; and I never saw any thing similar among other Indians.

Leaving our tent, we made a progress through the village, which consisted of about two hundred tents, each tent containing from two to four families. We were attended by four soldiers of our guard, but this was insufficient for keeping off the women and children, who crowded round us with insatiable curiosity. Our march was likewise accompanied by a thousand dogs, all howling frightfully.

From the village, I saw, for the first time, one of those herds of horses which the Osinipoilles possess in numbers. It was feeding on the skirts of the plain.[4]

[4] Horses which were introduced into America by the Spanish gradually spread north-ward and must have been acquired by the Siouan tribes during the eighteenth century. Carver, who visited the Sioux to the westward of the Falls of St. Anthony, in 1766, mentions that they hunted the buffalo and elk on foot. No horses were used by them in war and he speaks of Indians still further to the westward "having great plenty of horses, always attacking their enemies on horseback." He gives, however, the Dakotan name for them in his vocabulary. The presumption is that the Sioux were acquainted with horses but had not become possessors of any number of them. The Assiniboians seem, in 1776, to have acquired some droves, but still moved camp without employing other beasts of burden than dogs, and still hunted the buffalo on foot. By the commencement of the nineteenth century all this was changed and horses were generally employed.

The masters of these herds provide them with no fodder; but, leave them to find food for themselves, by removing the snow with their feet, till they reach the grass, which is every where on the ground in plenty.

At ten o'clock, we returned to our tent, and in a short time the great chief paid us a visit, attended by nearly fifty followers of distinction. In coming in, he gave his hand to each of us, and all his attendants followed his example. When we were seated, one of the officers went through the ceremony of the pipe, after which, the great chief delivered a speech, of which the substance was as follows:—That he was glad to see us; that he had been, some time since, informed of a fort of the white-men's being established on the Pasquayah, and that it had always been his intention to pay a visit there; that we were our own masters, to remain at our pleasure in his village, free from molestation, and assured of his especial protection; that the young men had employed themselves in collecting meat and furs, for the purpose of purchasing certain articles, wherewith to decorate their wives; that within a few days he proposed to move, with his whole village, on this errand; that nothing should be omitted to make our stay as agreeable as possible; that he had already ordered a party of his soldiers to guard us, and that if any thing should occur to displease us, his ear was always open to our complaints.

For all these friendly communications, we offered our thanks. His visit to the fort it had been a principal object to invite.

After the speech, the chief presented us with twenty beaver-skins, and as many wolf. In return, we gave two pounds of vermilion, and a few fathom of twisted tobacco, assuring him, that when he should arrive at our habitation, we would endeavour to repay the benefits which we were receiving from him, and at the same time cheerfully exchange our merchandise, for the dried meat and skins of his village. It was agreed that he should strike his camp at the end of five days, and that we should remain in it so long, and accompany it to the fort. The chief now departed; and I believe that we were reciprocally pleased with each other.

A short time after he was gone, we received an invitation to a feast, from a subordinate chief. Our dishes were again filled with tongues, but roasted, and not boiled. To furnish us with water, we saw an ox's paunch employed as a kettle. This being hung in the smoke of a fire, was filled with snow; and, as the snow melted, more was added, till the paunch was full of water. The lower orifice of the organ was used for drawing off the water, and stopped with a plug and string.

During our whole stay, we never had occasion for cookery at home; but, my kettle was in constant use, and for the most part in preparation of the feasts at which we were daily guests. In our tent, we were regularly supplied with water, either by the women, or by the guards.

The guards were changed daily. They frequently beat the people, for disobedience of orders, and the

offenders made no resistance to the chastisement. We were informed, that there was at both extremities of the camp, or village, a picket of two men, whose duty it was not to allow any person to go beyond the bounds. The intention of this was to prevent stragglers from falling a prey to the enemy. General orders were issued by the chief, morning and evening, and published by a crier, in every part of the camp.

In the course of the day, the great chief informed us, that he proposed hunting the wild ox on the following morning, and invited us to be of the party.

CHAPTER XIII.

Wild Ox Hunt. Dances and Festivity. Musical Instruments. Some account of the Plains—Inhabitants to the Westward. Weapons of War. Horses originally procured from the Spaniards. Religious notions and practices—Songs—Feasts—Fasts—Dances—Sacrifices. Agreement, in these and other particulars, between the Osinipoilles and Cristinaux. Marriages of the Indians in general—Courtship—Contracts of Marriage. Stews, Sudatories, or Sweating-Houses. Polygamy. Paucity of Children. Burial of the Dead. Manes. Food placed on Graves. Monuments. Persons of the Osinipoilles. Dress of the Women. Cruel treatment of Slaves.

IN the morning, we went to the hunt accordingly. The chief was followed by about forty men, and a great number of women. We proceeded to a small *island* on the plain, at the distance of five miles from the village. On our way, we saw large herds of oxen, at feed; but, the hunters forebore to molest them, lest they should take the alarm.

Arrived at the island, the women pitched a few tents, while the chief led his hunters to its southern end, where there was a pound, or enclosure. The fence was about four feet high, and formed of strong stakes of birch-wood, wattled with smaller branches of the

same. The day was spent in making repairs; and by the evening all was ready for the hunt.

At day-light, several of the more expert hunters were sent to decoy the animals into the pound. They were dressed in ox-skins, with the hair and horns. Their faces were covered, and their gestures so closely resembled those of the animals themselves, that had I not been in the secret, I should have been as much deceived as the oxen.

At ten o'clock, one of the hunters returned, bringing information of the herd. Immediately, all the dogs were muzzled; and this done, the whole crowd of men and women surrounded the outside of the pound. The herd, of which the extent was so great that I cannot pretend to estimate the numbers, was distant half a mile, advancing slowly, and frequently stopping to feed. The part, played by the decoyers, was that of approaching them within hearing, and then bellowing like themselves. On hearing the noise, the oxen did not fail to give it attention; and, whether from curiosity or sympathy, advanced to meet those from whom it proceeded. These, in the meantime, fell back deliberately toward the pound, always repeating the call, whenever the oxen stopped. This was reiterated till the leaders of the herd had followed the decoyers into the jaws of the pound, which, though wide asunder toward the plain, terminated, like a funnel, in a small aperture, or gate-way; and, within this, was the pound itself. The Indians remark, that in all herds of animals there are chiefs, or leaders, by whom the motions of the rest are determined.

The decoyers now retired within the pound, and were followed by the oxen. But, the former retired still further, withdrawing themselves at certain movable parts of the fence, while the latter were fallen upon by all the hunters, and presently wounded, and killed, by showers of arrows. Amid the uproar which ensued, the oxen made several attempts to force the fence; but, the Indians stopped them, and drove them back, by shaking skins before their eyes. Skins were also made use of to stop the entrance, being let down by strings, as soon as the oxen were inside. The slaughter was prolonged till the evening, when the hunters returned to their tents. Next morning, all the tongues were presented to the chief, to the number of seventy-two.[1]

The women brought the meat to the village, on sledges drawn by dogs. The lumps on the shoulders, and the hearts, as well as the tongues, were set apart for feasts; while the rest was consumed as ordinary food, or dried, for sale at the fort.

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[1] Buffalo pounds were numerous throughout the North-West before the extermination of this noble animal. The description which Henry gives is almost identical with that of other travellers, both among the Crees and Dakotans. Very full details, with illustrations of the shape and character of the pounds, with the method of driving the animals, will be found in *Umfreville's Hudson Bay*, p 160; *Franklin's Journey to the Polar Sea*, 1819-22, p. 112; and *Hind's Canadian Exploring Expedition*, vol. 1, p. 358. In the North-West rebellion of 1885, which broke out in the district where Henry had travelled, one of the prominent Cree chiefs was called Poundmaker.

II. The time was now passed in dancing and festivity, in all quarters of the village. On the evening of the day after the hunt, the chief came to our tent, bringing with him about twenty men, and as many women, who separately seated themselves as before; but, they now brought musical instruments, and, soon after their arrival, began to play. The instruments consisted principally in a sort of tambourine, and a gourd filled with stones, which several persons accompanied by shaking two bones together; and others with bunches of deer-hoofs, fastened to the end of a stick. Another instrument was one that was no more than a piece of wood, of three feet, with notches cut on its edge. The performer drew a stick backward and forward, along the notches, keeping time. The women sung; and the sweetness of their voices exceeded whatever I had heard before.[2]

This entertainment lasted upward of an hour; and when it was finished a dance commenced. The men formed themselves into a row on one side, and the women on the other; and each moved sidewise, first up, and then down the room. The sound of bells and other jingling materials, attached to the women's dresses, enabled them to keep time. The songs and dances were continued alternately, till near midnight, when all our visitors departed.

These amusements were given to us compliment-

[2] Illustrations showing these different instruments will be found in *Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes of the United States*, Part II, p. 514.

arily, by the chief. He took no part in the performances himself; but, sat smoking while they proceeded.

III. It had been my wish to go further on the Plains, till I should have reached the mountains, at the feet of which, as I have already observed, they lie; but, the chief informed me, that the latter were still at the distance of many days' journey, and that the intervening country was a tract destitute of the least appearance of wood. In the winter, as he asserted, this tract cannot be crossed at all; and in the summer, the traveller is in great danger of perishing for want of water; and the only fuel to be met with is the dung of the wild ox. It is intersected by a large river, which runs to the sun's rising, and which has its sources in the mountains.

With regard to the country of the Osinipoilles, he said, that it lay between the head of the Pasquayah, or Sascatchiwaine, and the country of the Sioux, or Nadowessies, who inhabit the heads of the Missisipi. On the west, near the mountains, were the Snake Indians and Black-feet, troublesome neighbours, by whose hands numbers of his warriors fell.

The Osinipoilles have many villages, composed of from one to two hundred tents each. Few exceed the latter number. They often go to the moun-

[3] The distance is about 400 miles in an air line and the prairie is intersected by the South Saskatchewan, with its tributaries the Red Deer and Bow Rivers. The North Saskatchewan also has its rise at the base of the Rocky Mountains and flows north before turning east.

tains, on war-parties, and always on horseback. When the great chief intends to go to war, he sends messengers to the several villages, directing the warriors to meet him at an appointed place and time. With regard to the latter, it is described by the moon, as the beginning, full, or end. In obedience to the summons, they assemble in greater numbers than can be counted,* armed with the bow, sling and spear, and with quivers full of arrows.—They have still another weapon, formed of a stone of about two pounds weight, which is sewed in leather, and made fast to a wooden handle, two feet long. In using it, the stone is whirled round the handle, by a warrior sitting on horseback, and attacking at full speed. Every stroke, which takes effect, brings down a man, or horse; or, if used in the chase, an ox. To prevent the weapon from slipping out of the hand, a string, which is tied to the handle, is also passed round the wrist of the wearer.[4] The horses of the Osinipoilles were originally procured from white people, with beards, who live to the southward; that is, the Spanish colonists, in New Mexico.

The animals, which I saw alive on the Plains, are oxen, red-deer and wolves; but, I saw also the skins

*This was the chief's expression.

[4] This primitive weapon was known to the traders as *acassé tête*, or war club, and was gradually superseded by those of wood, curiously carved, and with a spike of iron imbedded in the ball or bulb at the end. Carver, in his *Travels in North America*, p. 296, gives an illustration of the earlier form.

of foxes, bears, and a small number of panthers, sometimes called tigers, and most properly, *cougars*.*

IV. In their religious notions, as well as in their dress, arms and other particulars, there is a general agreement between the Osinipoilles and the Cristinaux.† They believe in a creator and governor of the world, in a future life, and in the spirits, gods, or *manitos*, whom they denominate *wakons*.[5] Their practices of devotion consist in the singing of songs, accompanied by the drum, or rattle, or both; and the subjects of which are prayers and praises: in smoking-feasts, or feasts of the pipe, or calumet, held in honour of the spirits, to whom the smoke of tobacco is supposed to be a most acceptable incense; and in other feasts, as well as in fasts and in sacrifices. The victims of sacrifice are usually dogs, which being killed, and hung upon poles, are left there to decay.

V. Many travellers have described the marriages

* Felis concolor.

† Such of the Cristinaux as inhabit the Plains, have also their horses, like the Osinipoilles. By language, the Osinipoilles are allied to the Nadowessies; but, they are always at war with them. Of the language of the Nadowessies, Carver has given a short vocabulary.

[5] Manito, a Cree word meaning a supernatural being, with the attributes of holiness, a holy spirit, is the root of such compound words as *Kitge-manito*, the Great Spirit or God; *Matchi-manito*, the evil spirit; *Manito-wâtisiw*, *devotee*, which are in the corresponding Dakotan words, *Wa-kan*, a spirit; *Wa-kan-tan-ka*, the Great Spirit; and *Wa-kan-si-ca*, the evil spirit.

of the Indians; but, as they have greatly disagreed in their delineations, I shall venture to set down such particulars as have presented themselves to my immediate view. Though inserted here, they have no exclusive relation to the Osinipoilles; all the Indians, whom I have seen, having similar customs on this head.

A young man, desirous of marrying a particular young woman, visits the lodge in which she lives, at night, and when all the family, or rather families, are sleeping on their mats around. He comes provided with a match, or splint of wood, which he lights among the embers of one of the fires which are in the middle of the lodge. The only intention of this, is the very obvious one, of finding, by the help of the light, the young woman whom he means to visit, and whom, perhaps, he has to awaken. This done, he extinguishes the light. In speaking to her, he whispers, because it is not necessary to disturb all the lodge; and because something like privacy and secrecy belong to the nature of the occasion. If she makes no reply to his address, he considers his attempts at acquaintance as repulsed, and in consequence retires. If the young woman receives him with favour, he takes part of her mat. He brings with him his own blanket.—I consider this practice as precisely similar to the *bundling* of New England, and other countries; and, to say the least, as not more licentious. Children, born out of wedlock, are very rare among the Indians.

The lover, who is permitted to remain, retires before day-break. When the young woman has con-

sented to be his wife, he opens the affair to his own mother, by whom it is communicated to her's; and if the two mothers agree, they mutually apply to their husbands.

The father of the young man then invites the father of the young woman to a stew, or sudatory, prepared for the occasion, and at which he communicates the wishes of his son. The father of the young woman gives no reply till the day following, when, in his own turn, he invites the other to the sweating-house. If he approves of the match, the terms upon which it is to be made are now settled.

Stews, sudatories, or sweating-houses, are resorted to for cure of sickness, for pleasure, or for giving freedom and vigour to the faculties of the mind, when particular deliberation and sagacity are called for. To prepare them for a guest, is, therefore, to offer every assistance to his judgment, and manifest the reverse of a disposition to take an unfair advantage of him: it is the exact opposite of offering him liquor. They are constructed of slender branches of trees, united at the top, and closely covered with skins or blankets. Within, water is poured upon a red-hot stone, till the steam produced perspiration.[6]

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[6] The use of the sweating-house, or booth, was common to all the northern Indians and frequent reference is made to them in the Jesuit Relations. Harmon, who was among the Assiniboin in 1800, thus describes them: "The women make a kind of hut, of bended willows, which is nearly circular, and if for one or two persons only, not more than fifteen feet in circumfer-

The terms are either, that the young man, as was most usual in older times, shall serve the father of the young woman for a certain period, (as for three years,) or that he shall redeem himself from this obligation by a present.

If he be to serve, then, at the time fixed, he goes, accompanied by his father and mother, to the lodge of the young woman's family. There, he is desired, by her mother, to sit down on the same mat with her. A feast is usually served, and the young woman's father delivers a suitable speech. The young man is thenceforward regarded as one of his wife's family, and remains in the lodge accordingly.

If, on the other hand, he redeems himself by a pres-

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ence, and three or four in height. Over these they lay the skins of the buffalo, etc., and in the centre of the hut they place heated stones. The Indian then enters perfectly naked with a dish of water in his hand, a little of which he occasionally throws on the hot stones, to create steam, which, in connection with the heat, puts him in a profuse perspiration. In this situation he will remain for about an hour, but a person unaccustomed to endure such heat, could not sustain it for half that time. They sweat themselves in this manner, they say, in order that their limbs may become more supple, and they more alert in pursuing animals, which they are desirous of killing. They also consider sweating a powerful remedy for the most of diseases. As they come from sweating they frequently plunge into a river, or rub themselves over with snow." *Harmon's Journal*, Andover, 1820, p. 64. See also *Catlin's North American Indians*, vol. I., p. 97, for a description of a sweating-house among the Mandans and for illustration of one in use, p. 186.

ent, then his father and mother go along to the lodge of the young woman's family, carrying a present. If the present be accepted, they leave it, and return home; and, shortly after, the father and mother, accompanied by their daughter, go to the lodge of the bridegroom's family, where the bride is desired to sit down beside her husband. The feast and speech are now made by the young man's father, and the young woman is received into his family.

Every man marries as many wives as he pleases, and as he can maintain; and the usual number is from one to five. The oldest, in most cases, is the mistress of the family, and of the other wives among the rest. They appear to live in much harmony. Polygamy, among the Indians, conduces little to population. For the number of adults, the children are always few.

VI. In naming a child, the father officiates, and the ceremony is simple. The relations are invited to a feast, when he makes a speech, informing the guests of the name by which the child is to be called, and addresses a prayer to the Great Spirit, petitioning for the child's life and welfare.

VII. With respect to the burial of the dead, if the death happen in the winter-season, and at a distance from the burial-ground of the family, the body invariably accompanies all the wanderings and journeys of the survivors, till the spring, and till their arrival at the place of interment. In the mean time, it is

every-where rested on a scaffold, out of the reach of beasts of prey. The grave is made of a circular form, about five feet deep, and lined with bark of the birch, or some other tree, or with skins. A seat is prepared, and the body is placed in a sitting posture, with supporters on either side. If the deceased be a man, his weapons of war, and of the chase, are buried with him, as also his shoes, and every thing for which, as a living warrior or hunter, he would have occasion, and, indeed, all his property; and I believe that those, whose piety alone may not be strong enough to ensure to the dead the entire inventory of what is supposed to be necessary for them, or is their own, are compelled to do them justice by another argument, and which is, the fear of their displeasure. A defrauded or neglected ghost, although invisible, can disperse the game of the plains or forests, so that the hunter shall hunt in vain; and, either in the chase or in the war, turn aside the arrow, or palsy the arm that draws the bow: in the lodge, it can throw a child into the fire.

The body and its accompaniments are covered with bark; the bark with logs; and the logs with earth. This done, a relation stands up, and pronounces an eulogium on the deceased, extolling his virtues, and relating his exploits. He dwells upon the enemies whom he slew, the scalps and prisoners which he took, his skill and industry in the chase, and his deportment as a father, husband, son, brother, friend, and member of the community. At each assertion which he makes, the speaker strikes a post, which is placed

near the grave; a gesture of asseveration, and which enforces the attention of the audience, and assists in counting up the points delivered. The eulogium finished, the post is painted,* and on it are represented the number of prisoners taken, by so many figures of men; and of killed and scalped, by figures without heads. To these are added his badge, called, in the Algonquin tongue, a *totem*, and which is in the nature of an armorial bearing.[7] It informs the passing Indian of the family to which the deceased belonged. A serious duty at the grave, is that of placing food, for the use of the dead, on the journey to the *land of souls*. This care is never neglected, even under every disadvantage of molestation. In the neighbourhood of the traders, dishes of cooked venison are very commonly placed on the graves of those long buried, and as commonly removed by Europeans, even without

* Hence, *The Painted Post*, the name of a village in Pennsylvania.

[7] Totemism is a peculiar social institution existing among the Indians, by which nations are divided into several distinct clans, each with its emblem, consisting of the figure of some bird, beast or reptile. Thus among the Dakotans were the Black Bear gens, the Deer gens, the Eagle gens, the Beaver gens, the Turtle gens, the Crane gens, and others. All those who are of the same totem consider themselves as relations and are prohibited from intermarriage. "Each man is proud of his badge, jealously asserting its claims to respect; and the members of the same clan, though they may, perhaps, speak different dialects, and dwell far asunder, are yet bound together by the closest ties of fraternity." *Encyclopædia Britanica* article, Totemism, *Maclean's Canadian Savage Folk*, p. 596, *Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 213.

offence to those who placed them there. In situations of great want, I have more than once resorted to them for food.

VIII. The men, among the Osinipoilles, are well made; but, their colour is much deeper than that of the more northern Indians. Some of the women are tolerably handsome, considering how they live, exposed to the extremes of heat and cold, and placed in an atmosphere of smoke, for at least one half of the year. Their dress is of the same materials, and of the same form, with that of the female Cristinaux. The married women suffer their hair to grow at random, and even hang over their eyes. All the sex is fond of garnishing the lower edge of the dress with small bells, deer-hoofs, pieces of metal, or any thing capable of making a noise. When they move, the sounds keep time, and make a fantastic harmony.

IX. The Osinipoilles treat with great cruelty their slaves. As an example, one of the principal chiefs, whose tent was near that which we occupied, had a female slave, of about twenty years of age. I saw her always on the outside of the door of the tent, exposed to the severest cold; and having asked the reason, I was told, that *she was a slave.* The information induced me to speak to her master, in the hope of procuring some mitigation of the hardships she underwent; but, he gave me for answer, that he had taken her on the other side of the western mountains; that at the same time he had lost a brother and a son, in battle; and that the enterprise had taken place, in

order to release one of his own nation, who had been a slave in her's, and who had been used with much greater severity than that which she experienced.—The reality, of the last of these facts, appeared to me to be impossible. The wretched woman fed and slept with the dogs, scrambling with them for the bones which were thrown out of the tent. When her master was within, she was never permitted to enter; at all seasons, the children amused themselves with impunity in tormenting her, thrusting lighted sticks into her face; and if she succeeded in warding off these outrages, she was violently beaten. I was not successful in procuring any diminution of her sufferings; but, I drew some relief from the idea, that their duration could not be long. They were too heavy to be sustained.

It is known, that some slaves have the good fortune to be adopted into Indian families, and are afterward allowed to marry in them; but, among the Osinipoilles, this seldom happens; and, even among the Chipeways, where a female slave is so adopted and married, I never knew her to lose the degrading appellation of *wa'kan'*, *a slave*.*[s]

*This word, *wakan*, which, in the Algonquin language, signifies a *slave*, is not to be confounded with *wakan*, or *wakon*, which, in the language of the Nadowessies and Osinipoilles, signifies a spirit, or *manito*.

[s] Baraga gives the Cree form as *awokkân*. Cameron says that the word slave was applied by the voyageurs and Indians to any for whom they had lost respect, and means "poor, miserable, without influence." *Masson's Bourgeois du Nord-Ouest*, vol. 2, p. 244.

CHAPTER XIV.

Osinipoilles strike their Camp, and march for Fort des Prairies. Departure. Order of march. Join a second Camp. Herds of Horses—their winter stations. Osinipoilles reach the Fort, and exchange their Skins and Provisions for Trinkets—their independence on Foreign Trade. Osinipoilles leave the Fort—their National Character. State of Trade on the Sascatchiwaine—prices of European Merchandise there. Author leaves the Fort, on his return to Beaver Lake.

ON the nineteenth of February, the chief apprised us, that it was his design to depart the next morning for the fort. In consequence, we collected our baggage, which, however, was but small; consisting in a buffalo-robe for each person, an axe and a kettle. The last was reluctantly parted with by our friends, who had none left to supply its place.

At day-break, on the twentieth, all was noise and confusion in the camp; the women beating and loading the dogs, and the dogs howling and crying. The tents were speedily struck, and the coverings and poles packed up, to be drawn by the dogs.

Soon after sunrise, the march began. In the van were twenty-five soldiers, who were to beat the path, so that the dogs might walk. They were followed by

about twenty men, apparently in readiness for contingent services; and after these went the women, each driving one or two, and some, five loaded dogs. The number of these animals, actually drawing loads, exceeded five hundred. After the baggage, marched the main body of the men, carrying only their arms. The rear was guarded by about forty soldiers. The line of march certainly exceeded three miles in length.

The morning was clear and calm. Our road was a different one from that by which we had reached the camp. We passed several herds of wild oxen, which betrayed some alarm at the noise of the dogs and women, resounding on every side.

Our march was pursued till sunset, when we reached a small wood, the first that we had seen all day. The great chief desired Mr. Patterson and myself to lodge in his own tent, and we accordingly became part of his family. We saw that his entire and numerous household was composed of relations. The chief, after smoking his pipe, determined the line of march for the next day; and his dispositions in this regard were immediately published through the camp.

At day-break, our tents were again struck, and we proceeded on our march, in the same order as the day before. To-day, (to follow the phraseology of the Plains,) we had once *land in sight*, consisting in two small *islands*, lying at a great distance from our road. On our march, the chief informed us, that he proposed reaching another camp of his people that evening,

and would take it with him to the fort. Accordingly, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, we discovered a wood, and presently afterward saw smoke rising from it. At sunset, we encamped near the wood, where we found a hundred tents. We were not long arrived, before the chiefs of this second camp paid a visit to the Great Road, who informed them of his intention to visit the fort, and recommended to them to join his march. They consented, and orders were given as usual, by a public officer.

The night afforded me but little sleep, so great was the disturbance, from noises of all kinds;—feasting and dancing; the women chastising the dogs; the dogs of the two camps meeting, and maintaining against each other, the whole night long, a universal war.

In the morning, the two camps united in one line of march, which was now so far extended, that those in the rear could not descry the front. At noon, we passed a small wood, where we saw horses feeding. The Indians informed me, that they belonged to one of their camps, or villages; and that it was their uniform custom to leave their horses, in the beginning of winter, at the first wood where they were when the snow fell, at which the horses always remain through the season, and where their masters are sure to find them in the spring. The horses never go out of sight of the island assigned them, winter or summer, for fear of wanting its shelter in a storm.

We encamped this evening among some small brushwood. Our fire went out accidentally in the night;

and I was kept awake by the cold, and by the noise of the dogs.

In the course of the next day, the twenty-third of the month, we passed several coppices, and saw that the face of the country was changing, and that we had arrived on the margin of the Plains. On the twenty-seventh, we encamped on a large wood, where the Indians resolved on leaving the old women and children, till their return from the fort, from which we were now distant only one day's march. On the twenty-eighth, they halted for the whole day; but, we engaged two of them to lead us forward, and thus arrived in the evening at the fort, where we found all well. A large band of Cristinaux had brought skins from the Beaver River.

Next day, the Indians advanced their camp to within half a mile of the fort, but left thirty tents behind them in the wood. They continued with us three days, selling their skins and provisions, for trinkets.

It is not in this manner that the Northern Indians dispose of the harvest of the chase. With them, the principal purchases are of necessaries; but, the Osinipoilles are less dependent on our merchandise. The wild ox alone supplies them with every thing which they are accustomed to want. The hide of this animal, when dressed, furnishes soft clothing for the women; and, dressed with the hair on, it clothes the men. The flesh feeds them; the sinews afford them

bow-strings; and even the paunch, as we have seen, provides them with that important utensil, the kettle. The amazing numbers of these animals prevent all fear of want; a fear which is incessantly present to the Indians of the north.

On the fourth morning, the Osinipoilles departed. The Great Road expressed himself much satisfied with his reception, and he was well deserving of a good one; for in no situation could strangers have been treated more hospitably than we were treated in his camp. The best of every thing it contained was given us.

The Osinipoilles, at this period, had had no acquaintance with any foreign nation, sufficient to affect their ancient and pristine habits. Like the other Indians, they were cruel to their enemies; but, as far as the experience of myself and other Europeans authorises me to speak, they were a harmless people, with a large share of simplicity of manners, and plain-dealing. They lived in fear of the Cristinaux, by whom they were not only frequently imposed upon, but pillaged, when the latter met their bands, in smaller numbers than their own.

As to the Cristinaux, they are a shrewd race of men, and can cheat, lie, and sometimes steal; yet even the Cristinaux are not so much addicted to stealing as is reported of the Indians of the South Sea :[1] their

[1] The Pacific ocean was long known as the South Sea, a name given to it by Balboa, in 1513, because the portion of the

stealing is pilfering; and they seldom pilfer any thing but *rum*, a commodity which tempts them beyond the power of resistance.

I remained at Fort des Prairies till the twenty-second of March, on which day I commenced my return to Beaver Lake.

Fort des Prairies, as already intimated, is built on the margin of the Pasquayah, or Sascatchiwaine, which river is here two hundred yards across, and flows at the depth of thirty feet below the level of its banks. The fort has an area of about an acre, which is enclosed by a good stockade, though formed only of poplar, or aspen-wood,* such as the country affords. It has two gates, which are carefully shut every even-

* This fort, or one which occupied a contiguous site, was formerly known by the name of Fort aux Trembles.[2]

Isthmus of Panama, from which he first saw it, lies east and west. Burney's Collection is called *Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean.* In Juan de Fuca's doubtful relation, 1596, Michael Lok, is reported as saying, "that he would serve her Majesty in that voyage for the discovery perfectly of the north-west passage into the South Sea." Umfreville after describing the country on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, says, the rivers "on the west side (i. e. the Columbia and Fraser Rivers) take a westerly course and evidently fall into the South Sea," *Hudson's Bay*, p. 149. The Indians of the coast of British Columbia and Oregon were notorious for their thieving habits.

[2] This was the voyageurs' name for the trembling poplar or aspen, *Populus tremuloides*, which is the commonest tree in that quarter.

ing, and has usually from fifty to eighty men for its defence.

Four different interests were struggling for the Indian trade of the Sascatchiwaine; but, fortunately, they had this year agreed to join their stock, and when the season was over, to divide the skins and meat. This arrangement was beneficial to the merchants; but, not directly so to the Indians, who, having no other place to resort to, nearer than Hudson's Bay, or Cumberland House, paid greater prices than if a competition had subsisted. A competition, on the other hand, afflicts the Indians with a variety of evils, in a different form.

The following were the prices of goods at Fort des Prairies:

A gun	20	beaver-skins.
A stroud blanket	10	do.
A white do.	8	do.
An axe, of one pound weight	3	do.
Half a pint of gunpowder.....	1	do.
Ten balls	1	do.

but, the principal profits accrued from the sale of knives, beads, flints, steels, awls and other small articles.

Tobacco, when sold, fetched one beaver-skin per foot of *Spencer's twist*; and rum, not very strong,

two beaver-skins per bottle: but, a great proportion of these commodities was disposed of in presents.[3]

The quantity of furs brought into the fort was very great. From twenty to thirty Indians arrived daily, laden with packs of beaver-skins.

[3] Almost all the tobacco sold by the Hudson's Bay Company and North-West Company was tightly twisted in the form of a black rope nearly an inch in diameter. Hearne and Mackenzie both speak of it as Brazil tobacco, a name applied to the leaf which came from Trinidad and the valley of the Amazons. The combination of strength and portability thus obtained rendered it a favorite with the fur trader. Todd and McGill, Montreal, advertise, 1786, for sale, "Spencer's best Roll and Carrot Tobacco."

CHAPTER XV.

Author arrives at Beaver Lake. Subsistence becomes scarce. Supply of Water-fowl. Voyage to the Missinipi. Voyage on the Missinipi toward Lake Arabuthcow, or Athabasca. Chepewyans—Dress—Manners—authority of the Chiefs, and their care of the People. Impositions of English Traders, and credulity of the Indians. Voyage from the Missinipi to the Grand Portage. Wild scene on Beaver Lake. Author, in company with Mr. Frobisher, arrives at the Grand Portage—and at Montreal.

THE days being now lengthened, and the snow capable of bearing the foot, we travelled swiftly; and the weather, though cold, was very fine.

On the fifth of April, we arrived, without accident, at Cumberland House. On our way, we saw nothing living, except wolves, who followed us in great numbers, and against whom we were obliged to use the precaution of maintaining large fires at our encampments.

On the seventh, we left Cumberland House; and on the ninth, in the morning, reached our fort on Beaver Lake, where I had the pleasure of finding my friends well.

In my absence, the men had supported themselves by fishing; and they were all in health, with the exception of one, who was hurt at the Grand Portage, by a canoe's falling upon him.

On the twelfth, Mr. Thomas Frobisher, with six men, was despatched to the river Churchill, where he was to prepare a fort, and inform such Indians, as he might see on their way to Hudson's Bay, of the approaching arrival of his partners.[1]

The ice was still in the same state as in January; but, as the season advanced, the quantity of fish diminished, insomuch that Mr. Joseph Frobisher and myself were obliged to fish incessantly; and often, notwithstanding every exertion, the men went supperless to bed. In a situation like this, the Canadians are the best men in the world; they rarely murmur at their lot, and their obedience is yielded cheerfully.

We continued fishing till the fifth May, when we saw swans, flying toward the Maligne. From this circumstance, and from our knowledge of the rapidity of the current of that river, we supposed it was free from ice. In consequence, I proceeded thither, and arriving in the course of a dav's journey, found it covered with swans, geese and other water-fowl, with which I soon loaded my sledge, and then returned to the fort.

[1] Thus intercepting the Indians on their way to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company at their Fort at the mouth of the Churchill River.

The passage, toward the Churchill, being thus far open, we left our fort on the twenty-first of May, forty in number, and with no greater stock of provision than a single supper. At our place of encampment, we set our nets, and caught more fish than we had need of; and the same food was plenty with us all the way. The fish were pickerel and white-fish.

On the twenty-second, we crossed two carrying-places, of half a mile each, through a level country, with marshes on the border of the river. The sun now appeared above the horizon, at half-past eight o'clock in the morning[2]; and there was twilight all the time that he was below it. The men had but few hours for rest; for, after encamping, a supper was not only to be cooked, but caught, and it was therefore late before they went to sleep. Mr. Frobisher and myself rose at three; and the men were stirring still earlier, in order to take up the nets, so that we might eat our breakfast, and be on our journey, before sunrise.

On the sixth of June, we arrived at a large lake,[3]

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[2] This must be a misprint as it does not agree with the context. The actual time of the sun's rising on the 22nd of May, in latitude 50° 30′ is 3.45. Henry probably wrote half-past three.

[3] Henry's party travelled very slowly and were probably trapping on the journey between Beaver Lake and Frobisher's house on the Churchill River, a distance of about 100 miles. The large lake was doubtless the Lake of the Woods, immediately south of the Portage de Traite, or Frog Portage, which Mackenzie calls the Lac des Bois, and gives its length as twenty-one miles. The same lake appears on Pond's map of 1785, under the name of Lake Mineront.

which, to our disappointment, was entirely frozen over, and at the same time the ice was too weak to be walked upon. We were now fearful of detention for several days; but had the consolation to find our situation well supplied with fish. On the following night there was a fall of snow, which lay on the ground to the depth of a foot. The wind was from the north-east. The Indians who were of our party hunted, and killed several elks, or moose-deer. At length, the wind changed into the southern quarter, on which we had rain, and the snow melted. On the tenth, with some difficulty, we crossed the lake, which is twenty miles in length, through a channel opened in the ice. On the fifteenth, after passing several carrying-places, we reached the river Churchill, Missinibi, or Missinipi, where we found Mr. Thomas Frobisher and his men, who were in good health, and had built a house for our reception.

The whole country, from Beaver Lake to the Missinipi, is low near the water, with mountains in the distance. The uplands have a growth of small pine-trees, and the valleys, of birch and spruce. The river is called the *Churchill River*, from Fort Churchill, in Hudson's Bay, the most northerly of the company's factories or trading-houses, and which is seated at its mouth. By Mr. Joseph Frobisher, it was named *English River*. At the spot where our house was built, the river is five miles wide, and very deep. We were estimated, by the Indians, to be distant three hundred miles from the sea. Cumberland House was

to the southward of us, distant four hundred miles.[4] We had the light of the sun, in sufficient quantity for all purposes, during the whole twenty-four hours. The redness of his rays reached far above the horizon.

We were in expectation of a particular band of Indians, and as few others made their appearance, we resolved on ascending the river to meet them, and even, in failure of that event, to go as far westward as Lake Arabuthcow,* distant, according to the Indians, four hundred and fifty miles.

With these views, we embarked on the sixteenth, with six Canadians, and also one Indian woman, in

* Called also *Athapuscow*, and *Athabasca*.[5]

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[4] The Churchill River, rising in Methly Lake and flowing easterly nearly 1,100 miles, is the most important river emptying into Hudson's Bay. It is a beautiful clear stream of great volume, draining a long stretch of country lying between the watersheds of the Saskatchewan and Athabascan Rivers. So closely do these waters lie, that by crossing on the south the Portage de Traite, a distance of only 380 yards, the waters of the Grass River can be reached, which ultimately flow into the Saskatchewan, while in the North, the distance by the Methly Portage is only twelve miles between Methly Lake and the Clear River, which flows into the Athabasca. Numerous rapids interrupt the course of the Churchill, commencing immediately above tidal waters, which prevent navigation except by canoe. Frobisher's house was about 190 miles from Cumberland House, and 750 from Hudson's Bay.

The name is said by Father Lacombe to signify "place of hay and reeds."

the capacity of a guide, in which service Mr. Frobisher had previously employed her.

As we advanced, we found the river frequently widening into lakes, thirty miles long, and so broad, as well as so crowded with islands, that we were unable to distinguish the main land on either side. Above them, we found a strait, in which the channel was shallow, rocky and broken, with the attendant features of *rapids* and carrying-places.[6] This country was mountainous, and thinly wooded; and the banks of the river were continued rocks. Higher up, lofty mountains discovered themselves, destitute even of moss; and it was only at intervals, that we saw afar off a few stunted pine-trees.

On the fifth day, we reached the Rapide du Serpent, which is supposed to be three hundred miles from our point of departure. We found white-fish so numerous, in all the rapids, that shoals of many thousands were visible, with their backs above the water. The men supplied themselves by killing them with their paddles. The water is clear and transparent.

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[6] Ross Cox, in describing his passage down the stream from where Henry stopped to the Portage de Traite, says that: "they crossed sixteen lakes and passed upwards of thirty rapids." He travelled with heavily laden canoes and took six days on the journey. Henry, going against the stream with a lighter load, took eight days but returned with the Indians in seven days.

The Rapide du Serpent, is about three miles long, and very swift.[7] Above this, we reached another rapid, over the carrying-place of which we carried our canoe. At this place, vegetation began to re-appear; and the country became level, and of an agreeable aspect. Nothing human had hitherto discovered itself; but, we had seen several bears, and two *caribaux*, on the sides of the mountains, without being able to kill any thing.

The course of the river was here from south to north. We continued our voyage till the twenty-fourth, when, a large opening being before us,[8] we saw a number of canoes, filled with Indians, on their voyage down the stream. We soon met each other, in the most friendly manner.

We made presents of tobacco to the chiefs, and were by them requested to put to shore, that we might encamp together, and improve our acquaintance. In a short time, we were visited by the chiefs, who brought us beaver-skins, in return for which we gave

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[7] Or Snake Rapid below Sandy Lake. It is about 170 miles from the place of starting.

[8] The entrance to Isle à la Crosse Lake. It is thus described by Captain Hood, *Franklin's Journal to the Polar Sea*, p. 184: "Its long succession of woody points, both banks stretching toward the south, till their forms were lost in the haze of the horizon, was a grateful prospect to us after our bewildering and uninterrupted voyage in the Missinipi." Fort Isle à la Crosse became an important station of the Hudson's Bay Company.

a second present; and we now proposed to them to return with them to our fort, where we were provided with large quantities of such goods as they wanted. They received our proposal with satisfaction.

On the twenty-fifth of June, we embarked, with all the Indians in our company, and continued our voyage day and night, stopping only to boil our kettle. We reached our house on the first of July.

The Indians comprised two bands, or parties, each bearing the name of its chief, of whom one was called the Marten, and the other, the Rapid. They had joined for mutual defence, against the Cristinaux, of whom they were in continual dread. They were not at war with that nation, but subject to be pillaged by its bands.[9]

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[9] In his long journey, Henry, up to this point, had only come in contact with Ojibwas, Crees, and other tribes speaking different forms of the Algonquin language, with the exception of his short trip on the plains when he visited the northern division of the Siouan or Dakota peoples. He had now reached the southern boundary of another great division of the Indian people, known to the early traveller as Chippewayans, but more correctly designated by Ethnologists as Athapascans, Tinné, Dèné or Dèné-Dindjié. The more familiar tribes composing it are the Locheux, Hares, Slaves, Dog-ribs, Yellow Knives, and Carriers. Their northern territory extended from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific ocean, and from the Churchill River, the height of land between the Saskatchewan and Athabasca waters, and the Fraser River on the south, to the Arctic ocean on the north, with the exception of the sea shore on the east, north and west, which were occupied by the Eskimo. In recent years they are estimated to number

While the lodges of the Indians were setting up, the chiefs paid us a visit, at which they received a large present of merchandise, and agreed to our request, that we should be permitted to purchase the furs of their bands.

They inquired, whether or not we had any rum; and, being answered in the affirmative, they observed, that several of their young men had never tasted that liquor, and that if it was too strong it would affect their heads. Our rum was in consequence submitted to their judgment; and, after tasting it several times, they pronounced it to be too strong, and requested that we would *order a part of the spirit to evaporate.* We complied, by adding more water, to what had received a large proportion of that element before; and, this being done, the chiefs signified their approbation.

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about 16,000 souls. These northern Dènè are generally a pusillanimous, timid, and cowardly race, who have been steadily driven back by the Crees, their neighbours on the south, but personally gentle in disposition, remarkable for their honesty, very poor, and are to-day practically christianized. Their language, beliefs, manners and customs have been described by several writers, in addition to the earlier narratives of Hearne, Mackenzie, and Richardson, the principal of whom are, *Hale, Tinneh People and their Language*, in his *Language as a Test of Mental Capacity*; *Gibb's, Tinneh or Chippeway People of British and Russian America, Report of Smithsonian Institute, 1886; Rev. A. G. Morice, Western Dènè, Dènè language, Dènè roots*, and other papers in the *Transactions of the Canadian Institute, 1888 to 1901;* and *Rev. E. Petitot, Monographie des Dènè-Dindjié. Paris, 1876.*

We remarked, that no other Indian approached our house, while the chiefs were in it. The chiefs observed to us, that their young men, while sober, would not be guilty of any irregularity; but, that lest, when in liquor, they should be troublesome, they had ordered a certain number not to drink at all, but maintain a constant guard. We found their orders punctually obeyed; and not a man attempted to enter our house, during all the night. I say, all the night; because it was in the course of this night, the next day, and the night following, that our traffic was pursued and finished. The Indians delivered their skins at a small window, made for that purpose, asking, at the same time, for the different things they wished to purchase, and of which the prices had been previously settled with the chiefs. Of these, some were higher than those quoted from Fort des Prairies.

On the third morning, this little fair was closed; and, on making up our packs, we found, that we had purchased twelve thousand beaver-skins, besides large numbers of otter and marten.

Our customers were from Lake Arabuthcow, of which, and the surrounding country, they were the proprietors, and at which they had wintered. They informed us, that there was, at the further end of that lake, a river, called Peace River, which descended from the Stony or Rocky Mountains, and from which mountains the distance to the *salt lake*, meaning the Pacific Ocean, was not great; that the lake emptied itself by a river, which ran to the northward, which

they called *Kiratchinini Sibi*,* or Slave River,† and which flows into another lake, called by the same name; but, whether this lake was or was not the sea, or whether it emptied itself or not into the sea, they were unable to say.[10] They were at war with the Indians who live at the bottom of the river, where the water is salt. They also made war on the people beyond the mountains, toward the Pacific Ocean, to which their warriors had frequently been near enough to see it. Though we conversed with these people in

* Or *Y-atch-inini Sipi*.

† These are the rivers which have since been explored by Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

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[10] Without knowing it, Henry was close to the south-east boundary of one of the largest water systems of North America. The Athabasca River, flowing from its source in 52° 20′ north latitude, is about 780 miles long and pours its waters into Lake Athabasca, which is in itself 190 miles long and from five to fifty-five miles wide. The discharge is northerly through the Slave River, which empties into Great Slave Lake. This lake is 300 miles long with an average width of forty-six miles, and from it flows the Mackenzie for about 1,000 miles, until it reaches the Arctic ocean. The Mackenzie is a noble stream draining an area of 677,000 square miles, and is never less than half a mile wide. The Peace River is one of its tributaries entering the Slave River, just north of Lake Athabasca, after flowing in an easterly direction for 1,067 miles. Its source is Summit Lake, to the westward of the Rocky Mountains, and seven miles and a half from the Fraser River, which enters the Straits of Georgia after a southern course of nearly 500 miles. An air line from the source of the Peace River to the Pacific would be about 370 miles. The so-called "Indians near the sea," with whom the Chipewayans made war were undoubtedly Eskimo.

the Cree, or Cristinaux language, which is the usual medium of communication, they were Chepewyans, or Rocky Mountain Indians.

They were in possession of several ultramontane prisoners, two of whom we purchased: one, a woman of twenty-five years of age; and the other, a boy of twelve. They had both been recently taken, and were unable to speak the language of their masters. They conversed with each other in a language exceedingly agreeable to the ear, composed of short words, and spoken with a quick utterance. We gave for each a gun.

The dress of the Chepewyans nearly resembled that of the Cristinaux; except that it was composed of beaver and marten-skins, instead of those of the ox and elk. We found these people orderly and unoffending; and they appeared to consider the whites as creatures of a superior order, to whom every thing is known.

The women were dirty, and very inattentive to their whole persons, the head excepted, which they painted with red ochre, in defect of vermilion. Both themselves and their husbands for them, were forward in seeking a loose intercourse with the Europeans. The former appeared vain of solicitation, and having first obtained the consent of their husbands, afterward communicated to them their success. The men, who no doubt thought with the Cristinaux on this subject,* were the first to speak in behalf of their

* See page 249.

wives; and were even in the practice of carrying them to Hudson's Bay, a journey of many hundred miles, on no other errand.

Having been fortunate enough to administer medical relief to one of these Indians, during their stay, I came to be considered as a physician, and found that this was a character held in high veneration. Their solicitude and credulity, as to drugs and nostrums, had exposed them to gross deceptions, on the part of the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company. One of the chiefs informed me, that he had been at the Bay the year before, and there purchased a quantity of medicines, which he would allow me to inspect. Accordingly, he brought a bag, containing numerous small papers, in which I found lumps of white sugar, grains of coffee, pepper, allspice, cloves, tea, nutmegs, ginger and other things of this kind, sold as specifics against evil spirits, and against the dangers of battle; as giving power over enemies, and particularly the white bear,[11] of which the Indians in

[11] That the Grisly Bear, *Ursus Ferox*, is intended is evident, as it was the most dangerous animal they hunted. "This induced us to inquire more particularly into their opinions as to the several species of bears, and we therefore produced all the skins of that animal which we had killed at this place, and also one very nearly white which we had purchased. The natives immediately classed the white, the deep and the pale grizzly-red, the grizzly dark brown, in short, all those with the extremities of the hair of a white or frosty colour, without regard to the colour of the ground of the fur, under the name of *hohhost*, or the white bear."—*Lewis and Clark's Expedition*, Vol. 3, p. 215.

these latitudes are much afraid:—others were infallible against barrenness in women; against difficult labours; and against a variety of other afflictions. In a second parcel, I found small prints; the identical ones, which, in England, are commonly sold in sheets to children, but each of which was here transformed into a talisman, for the cure of some evil, or obtention of some delight:—No. 1. "A sailor kissing his mistress, on his return from sea;"—this, worn about the person of a gallant, attracted, though concealed, the affections of the sex! No. 2. "A soldier in arms;"—this poured a sentiment of valour into the possessor, and gave him the strength of a giant!

By means of these commodities, many customers were secured to the company; and even those Indians, who shortened their voyage by dealing with us, sent forward one canoe, laden with beaver-skins, to purchase articles of this kind, at Cumberland House. I did not venture to dispute their value.

This part of our commercial adventure completed, Mr. Frobisher and myself left the remainder of our merchandise in the care of Mr. Thomas Frobisher, who was to proceed with them to Lake Arabuthcow; and, on the fourth of July, set out on our return to the Grand Portage.

In recrossing Beaver Lake, the wind obliged us to put into a bay which I had not visited before. Taking my gun, I went into the woods, in search of game; but, I had not advanced more than half a mile, when

I found the country almost inaccessible, by reason of masses of rock, which were scattered in all directions: some were as large as houses, and lay as if they had been first thrown into the air, and then suffered to fall into their present posture. By a circuitous route, I at last ascended the mountain, from one side of which they had fallen; the whole body was fractured, and separated by large chasms. In some places, parts of the mountain, of half an acre in surface, were raised above the general level. It was a scene for the warfare of the Titans, or for that of Milton's angels!

The river, which, when we first arrived at Cumberland House, had run with a swift current into the Sascatchiwaine, now ran in a contrary direction, toward the lake. This was owing to the rise of water in the Sascatchiwaine, from which same cause all the lowlands were at this time overflowed.

Our twilight nights continued till we were to the southward of Lake Winipegon. The weather was so favourable, that we crossed that lake in six days; though, in going, it took us thirty.

On an island in the Lake of the Woods, we saw several Indians, toward whom we made, in hopes to purchase provisions, of which we were much in want; and whom we found full of a story, that some strange nation had entered Montréal, taken Québec, killed all the English, and would certainly be at the Grand Portage before we arrived there.

On my remarking to Mr. Frobisher, that I suspected the *Bastonnais* (Bostonians, or English colonists) had been doing some mischief in Canada, the Indians directly exclaimed, "Yes; that is the name, *Bastonnais*." — They were lately from the Grand Portage, and appeared seriously apprehensive that the *Bastonnais* were coming into the north-west.*

At the Forks of the River à la Pluie, there were a large number of Indians, under a friendly chief,[12] with which latter I had had a previous acquaintance. On my visiting him, he told me, that there was bad news; and then repeated the story which we had heard on the Lake of the Woods, adding, that some of his young men were evil inclined, and that he wished us immediately to depart. We were not deaf to the admonition, of the grounds of which we staid long enough to be convinced. We were roughly importuned for rum; and one of the Indians, after we had embarked, fetched his gun, and fired at us twice, but without effect.

No further accident attended our voyage to the Grand Portage, from which place we pursued the route to Montréal, where we arrived on the fifteenth of October. We found the province delivered from

* *Bastonnais* (*Bostonnais*, Bostonians) is the name by which the Canadians describe all the inhabitants of the English colonies, now the United States; and in the north-west, the English traders commonly use the French language.

[12] *Ante*, page 240.

the irruption of the colonists, and protected by the forces of General Burgoyne.[13]

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[13] An interval of fifteen years and two months had elapsed since Henry set out in August, 1761, from Montreal on his fur-trading expedition. At the time of his departure, the conquest of Canada was complete, but the treaty of Paris was not signed for eighteen months after. During the period of his absence, the troubles between the English colonies and the mother country had culminated in war. Arnold and Montgomery at the head of a small army of Americans had entered Canada, in October, 1775, captured Montreal in November and beseiged Quebec, during the winter of 1775-76. Montgomery was killed on January 1st, and in May the Americans gave up the seige and retreated from the country. During this period from October to May, Henry had been on the Saskatchewan and Churchill Rivers, so that nearly a year had elapsed before the tidings reached him. News travelled so slowly in the Indian country, that the Indians at the Lake of the Woods had not heard in the end of July of the departure of the Americans in May.

THE END.

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